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THE Not in Lowndes.

LIFE

Of the Renowned

Peter D'Aubusson,

Grand Master of

RHODES.

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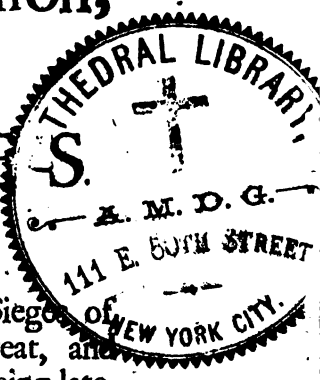

Containing

Those Two Remarkable Sieges of *Rhodes* by *Mahomet* the Great, and *Solyman* the Magnificent, being lately added to compleat the Story adorn'd with the choicest Occurrences in the *Turkish* Empire at that Time.

7883

LONDON,

Printed for *Geo. Wells*, and *Sam. Carr*, Booksellers in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1679.

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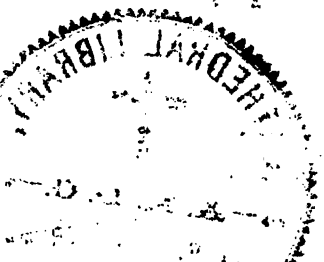

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To the

READER.

MEN of Active Spirits, and designing Fame and honour hereafter, can no where better benefit themselves then by reading the lives of such Persons as have trod the same steps before them. For in the lives of great Personages they find those Examples

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ples of Conduct which they are either to follow or avoid. Since that by celebrating the deeds of good men, they that come after are incited to deserve well of mankind. To this purpose the Author of this short story chose to revive the memory of Peter D'Aubusson, *Grand Master of* Rhodes, *a Person for courage and piety not inferiour to any of his time.*

For the truth of what he writes, He informes ye where he had it; from an ancient Manuscript written-

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ten by William Caoursin, *Chancellour of the Order, who wrote nothing but what he was an eye-witness off. As also from several other original Papers which he found in* Malta *it self. Nor did he refuse the help of* Khodgia Afendy, *a Turk, who living at the same time, wrote a Relation of the Siege with a great deal of Justice to the high merits of the Grand Master.*

Thus then the vigorous fury of Mahomet, *the zealous and fortunate resistance of* D' Au-

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To the Reader.

D'Aubuſſon, *the misfortunes of* Zizim, *a pleaſing yet melancholy variety, though inſeparable from the ſtory, being the Subjects of this Relation, 'tis ſomething probable that they that ſeek either for inſtruction or divertiſement, cannot fail of their expectation. However it is wholly left to them, to be either ſevere or Candid Judges, as they find moſt Reaſon.*

The loſs of Rhodes *is added not only to compleat the ſtory, but to revive the*

renown

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renown of the Great and Famous Villerius, *who sustain'd the whole power of the magnificent,* Solyman *till his Pride was quite tyr'd out. Insomuch that had not Treachery within, put a fatal period to the flourishing Estate of* Rhodes, Solyman *might have waited long enough upon* Palermos *for the conquest of that City. In short they that read to the end of these few Pages, will find variety sufficient for so small a volume,*

lume, and a recital of such actions as rather deserv'd the Grandeur of a Heroick Poem, then the ordinary dress of Prose.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubusson, Great Master of RHODES.

Peter D'Aubusson, whose History I have undertaken to write, was by providence chosen out among the *French* about two hundred years since, to set bounds to the Conquests of the Infidels. And He it was that sav'd *Rome* from the destiny of *Constantinople*, defending *Rhodes* against all the force of Mahomet the second, Emperour of the Turks.

He was the Son of *Reginald D'Aubusson*, Lord of *Monteil au Vicomte* in *Marche*, and *Margaret* of *Comborn*, both of the most Ancient and Illustrious Houses in the Kingdom. He receiv'd from nature,

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together with a Noble Birth, a ſtrong and proportionable body, fit for great undertakings; a quick wit, and vertuous inclinations.

As he was born valiant, and that the fiery conſtitution of his body, could not away with an idle life, he took upon him the profeſſion of Arms, ſo ſoon as he was of Age to handle a ſword.

The Truce which had been concluded between *France* and *England*, by the addreſs of *Cardinal Sainte Croix*, Legate to Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, and the Peace which follow'd, oblig'd him to ſeek for Employment and Honour in *Germany*.

The Emperour *Sigiſmund* had potent enemies both at home and abroad. The *Huſſites* made war againſt him in *Bohemia*; and though they ſeem'd inclinable to a ſubmiſſion after the bloody Battel of *Pragne*, where they loſt above twenty thouſand men, yet Rebellion was all they had in their thoughts. They were alſo ſo much the more to be fear'd, by how much they were highly inrag'd at

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at their defeat, and that rage redoubl'd in some measure the zeal which serv'd for the pretence of their Revolt.

But the greatest mischief was in *Hungary*, where the *Turks* made horrible havocks. *Sigismund*, who was at that time tak'n up with the affairs of the Council of *Basle*, not being able to oppose himself against the Torrent which threatned to overflow all *Germany*, sent away with all speed, *Albert* Duke of *Austria* his Son-in-law, to repel the *Barbarians*.

Aubusson by chance, or rather by a particular Providence of Heaven, got a Command in this Army. For providence having design'd him to a Profession and a Trust that concern'd the Defence of Christendom, so order'd it, that he should perform his first feats of Arms against the enemies thereof.

The Prince march'd with all the hast he could, and though far inferiour in number, he no sooner discover'd the *Ottoman* Army, but he fell on with out any farther deliberation. The beginning of the Combat favor'd

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the Imperialists. They overturn'd at first whatever Resistance oppos'd them, and made a very great slaughter. *Aubusson*, who felt his courage kindl'd upon sight of the Infidels, slew a great many with his own hand, and fought always in the formost Ranks. But when the Victory seem'd to have been assuredly on *Alberts* side, the Turkish Cavalry surrounded that of the Christians, and fell upon them so impetuously, that they made them give way, and broke them upon the first charge. The disorder was not long. *Aubusson* rally'd all the Troops about him, and renew'd the fight under the conduct of a Hungarian, whose name is not recorded in Histories, though his valor deserves to live eternally in the memory of men.

This brave person, remarkable for his tall size of body, and his undaunted Air, together with *Aubusson*, sustain'd, almost without other Assistance, all the whole power of the Enemy; and with his battle-axe in his hand, after he had beat down several,

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veral, made his way through the reſt. Which Action ſo Reſolute, as it terrifi'd the *Turks*, ſo it reincourag'd the Chriſtians. All *Alberts* Troopes follow'd this new Leader, who ſeemd to be ſent to them from Heaven; and as if they had at the ſame time been inſpir'd with freſh Vigour, they charg'd the *Barbarians* ſo rudely, that eighteen thouſand lay dead upon the place, the reſt thought of nothing but Flight.

While the Arms of *Sigiſmund* had this happy ſucceſs in *Hungary*, his affairs proſper'd no leſs in other places. The *Huſſites*, weak'nd by their Loſſes, and either terrifi'd by the Threats, or gain'd by the Promiſes of Emperor, at length return'd to their duty, The Treaty of *Prague* put an end to all the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and upon a ſudden the Imperial Authority was re-eſtabliſh'd.

All things being thus calm'd, and *Albert* having disbanded his Troops, *Aubuſſon* attended the Nobility that went to the Emperour's Court. There he was receiv'd as one that contribu-

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ted highly to the Victory in *Hungary*; and that which was related to *Sigismund* touching the Valour of the young *French* Gentleman, engag'd that Prince to give him publick marks of his esteem and acknowledgment. But *Aubusson* not only attracted the praises and favours of the Emperour, by his first exploits in War: for he also gain'd his good will and kindness by his carriage near his person, and the care which he took to please him.

Sigismund was endu'd with all the noble Qualities of a great Prince. Besides that he was valiant, wise, religious; he lov'd Learning in particular, and had a great value for learned men, whom he preferr'd upon all occasions, before persons that had nothing to recommend them but their Birth. He was himself learned, perfectly well read in History. He understood and spoke the Latine tongue, as he made it appear at the Council of *Constance*, by the testimony of *Gerson* Chancellour of the University of *Paris*, who was present there, and was charm'd

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charm'd with the laſt ſpeech of that Prince. For that reaſon he could not endure ignorance in his Courtiers; and would ſay ſometimes, that he was aſham'd of the Electors, who had not the leaſt tincture of Learning.

Though *Aubuſſon* were endu'd with a Martial ſoul, and that the love of war overſwayd his Inclinations, yet had he a diſpoſition and a Genious for Learning. He had a quick and piercing wit; a happy memory, and a ſolid judgment. So that it was no difficult thing for him to conform himſelf to the humour of the Emperor; having in a ſhort time fitted himſelf for all manner of addreſſes. After he had ſtudy'd the languages as much as was requiſite for a Souldier to know; he apply'd himſelf to the underſtanding of all the noble ſciences. He learnt the Mapps, the Mathematicks, and above all the reſt, that part with concernes the Art of war. But *Hiſtory* was his Principal ſtudie; He made a kind of buſineſs & Exerciſe of it, reading more to inſtruct

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then divert himself. For he was not contented to charge his memory with great names, and strange Accidents, as many do that read; but he still made Judicious reflections upon what he read; propoſing to himſelf, as examples to follow, the actions of men Illuſtrious. Above all things, he examin'd the lives of great men, and making advantage of their Vices, as well as of their Vertues, he became a Maſter to himſelf for the governing his own Manners.

Whatever love he had for reading, and what ever pleaſure he took in it, yet he ſtudy'd the world more then books: and above all the world, and all books, the Emperor. As he had a free acceſs to his perſon, and was with him every day, he was able to obſerve here at hand his Maximes, his words his actions, and all his behaviour. But among all the Vertues of *Sigiſmund* he was taken with none more then his Zeal for the Chriſtian Faith; of which he ſhew'd ſo many real marks, not only in the Councils which he upheld by his authority and preſence,

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preſence, but alſo by the Wars which he undertook againſt the *Infidels*.

Thus the Court, which is uſually the corrupter of youth, was to *Aubuſſon* a ſchool of wiſdom and vertue. Where, beſides the love which it taught him to have for learning, and to make a ſound judgment of things, he acquir'd Integrity, and became a man of Vertue and Repute.

With ſuch noble Inclinations as theſe, he might eaſily precend to great employments in a Court where Juſtice was done to merit. And certainly he had attain'd thereto, as much a ſtranger as he was, had not his Fortunes been overturnd by the Death of the Emperor.

Albert Duke of *Auſtria*, who ſucceeded *Sigiſmund*, had not for *Aubuſſon* thoſe kind thoughts as his predeceſſors. Whether it were that he did not naturally love the *French*, or whether the Favors of the deceas'd Emperour provok'd his hatred of a ſtranger

Aubuſſon quickly percev'd that the Emperor

Emperor had got a new Master, and that the best course that he could take was to be gone. But though that Consideration might not have prevail'd with him to quit *Germany*, yet his duty would have oblig'd to return to *France*.

The Treaty at *Arras* for the accommodation between the two Kings of *England* and *France* not taking effect, as it was hop'd, the War broke out again between the two Kings: So that there happ'nd divers sieges, and divers fights, with more heat and animosity then ever. The *English* made great spoil in the Provinces of which they were not Masters; and the *French* divided among themselves, committed as great violences every where; so that what between a Forraign and a Civil War joyn'd together, the whole Kingdom was full of confusion and horrour.

This was the state of the Affairs of *France* when *Sigismund* di'd, and that *Aubusson* forsook *Germany* to come and serve his own Country. *John D' Aubusson* Lord of *Born*, his Cousin-

Couſin-German, and Chamberlain to *Charles* the ſeventh, brought him to Court. So ſoon as he came there, his proper perſon, his ſparkling countenance, his noble Air attracted the eyes of all upon him; but his prudent and honeſt carriage, his wit, his politeneſs, his pleaſant converſation gain'd almoſt the hearts of every one.

In regard he was of the County of *Marche*, and younger Son of the Vicounts of that County, the Count of *Marche*, Governour of the *Dolphin*, ſhew'd him great reſpect, and did him the honour to be his Patron. This Relation which *Aubuſſon* had to the Count, gave him opportunity often to wait upon the *Dolphin*, who was almoſt of Age. He obtain'd his love, being ſo happy as to ſhare in the exerciſes and divertiſements of the Prince. He had alſo the good fortune to pleaſe *Charles* the ſeventh, who ſaw in him at firſt ſight ſomething that was great and not common. But it was not long ere he ſhew'd by his actions, that what we

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conceiv'd of him, was not without good ground. He signaliz'd himself in a high measure at *Montereau Faut-yone*, whither he attended the *Dolphin*, who commanded at the Siege. The King who had been himself a witness of the valour of *Aubusson*, when he carry'd the City by Assault, making his entry a little while after into *Paris*, commanded his attendance upon him to Court, with the chief of his Nobility. This Entry was one of the most magnificent that ever was made: And it may be truly said to be the first day that *Charles* began to reascend his Throne. Several Cities follow'd the example of the Capital; and those that stood out were for the most part reduc'd by force. *Aubusson* every where gave signal marks of his Courage; but upon one occasion he made it apparent that a young Warriour might be as well prudent as cunning.

At what time the power of the *English* abated in the Kingdom, that of the fair *Agnes* increas'd at Court. As she was wonderfully charming, and

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and one that understood better then any woman of her sex, how to govern her Lovers, she obtain'd in a short while an absolute Dominion over the King. But according to the custom of women, whose credit arises from their Beauty, she made but an ill use of the Kings Favours. The *Dolphin*, who was not naturally very docible, could not endure a haughty and imperious woman, who had but little respect for him. On the other side, the great Authority of *Charles* of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *Sicily* offended him extreamly. He took it ill, that a Prince, for whom he had no kindness, should have so great a share in the confidence of his Father. So that the Favorite was no less a trouble to him then the Mistress.

But that which vex'd him most of all, was, that after the taking of *Montereau*, where he fought so well against the *English*, that in Court-ship they applauded him for it before the King, he had but a bad reception from his Father, instead of the thanks which he

he expected. For the King perceiving that this first Essay had puft up the mind of his son, he return'd him under the Discipline of his Goverment, and remov'd him also from the Court. Whether he were jealous of a valour that made such a noise in the world; or whether, understanding the bad disposition of the *Dolphin*, he thought this first success of his might transport him too far, if he did not take care to curb him.

The *Dolphin* dissembl'd his dissatisfaction for some time; but a young Prince once provok'd, whose passions are violent, and who never wants bad counsel, is soon aweary of counterfeiting. And therefore to revenge himself like the Son of a King, he went and put himself at the head of the Rebellious Nobility.

The Count of *Marche*, to whom the revolt of his disciple was no small dishonour, omitted nothing that might reduce him to his duty. Besides what he did himself, he made use of the management of *Aubusson*, whom the Prince lov'd, and who had found a means

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means to preserve his favour without confederating in the revolt. Certain it is that the *Dolphin* was of a jealous, & tickliſh diſpoſition, not eaſie to manage; and one of thoſe who are of that head-ſtrong & obſtinate humour, that they are ſeldom to be recover'd, when they have once fix'd upon their party. But *Aubuſſon* knew him very well, and underſtood which way to take him. For he had thoſe ſweet and inſinuating charms, which are not imcompatible with a fierce and fiery Diſpoſition. But above all, he had a natural Eloquence, that always wrought it's Effect, and which perſwades ſo much the more, by how much it is the leſs diſtruſted. So that he had not much to do to make the Prince liſt'n to reaſon. He ſo dextrouſly mannag'd his paſſions, and mollify'd him in ſuch ſort by degrees, that when the Count of *Eu*, came afterwards to treat with him on the Kings behalf, he found him altogether enclin'd to lay down his Armes, and beg pardon.

The King was ſo ſatisfy'd with *Aubuſſons* addreſs upon this occaſion, that he employ'd

employ'd him in other Negotiations of concernment. In all which he so behav'd himself, that *Charles* the fifth highly applauded the sharpness of his wit. Insomuch that one day, speaking of *Aubusson*, he said, it was a hard matter to find so much fire and so much prudence both together.

After the Princes were come to an accommodation, the War grew very warm between the French and English, and much blood was shed on both sides. But the truces that were afterwards made, chang'd the whole face of affairs. *France* began to breath a more quiet Aire; and the pleasures which afterwards succeeded the Toyles of war, had perhaps effeminated the hearts of the Souldiers, if their Marches into *Lorrain* and *Germany* had not found them work.

Rene of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily* and Duke of *Lorrain*, requested aid of *Charles* King of *France*, his Brother in Law, against some places in the Countrey of *Messin*, that would not acknowledg his Iurisdiction. *Charles* presently appeares before *Nancy* with a great

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great Army; of which one part went briskly to beseige Mets. The City defended it self with great courage and obstinacy. Upon which the Dolphin, with whom the tediousness of the seige did not agree, found a fair occasion to satisfie his boyling and ambitious Humour.

The Emperor *Frederick* the third, dissatisfi'd with the *Swisses*, who pretended to have nothing to do with the House of *Astria*, and who under that pretence affected a kind of Independencie, not much differing from a Revolt; invited *France* by the mediation of *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, to come and defend the Rights of the Empire. There needed no more encouragement for the Dolphin, who had espoused the Sister of the Dutchess of *Austria*, to enter *Alsacia* with an Army. *Aubusson* was one of the young Lords that attended him, and one who had the greatest share in the defeat of the *Swisses* near *Basle*: But the Duke having reduc'd some places, and cast a terror upon others, march'd back again sooner then was expected.

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Either because the Emperour, unwilling to draw upon himself ill will, for being the occasion of the war, in some measure disown'd it; or because the *German* Lord, who had conducted the *French* Army into *Switzerland*, and was to have been their guide through all the narrow and difficult streights of the Mountains, being slain, there was no safety in proceeding farther.

In the mean time the Affair of *Mets* being brought to an accommodation, advantageous for the Besiegers, and honourable for the Besieged; the Embassadors of the *German* Princes, whom the Dolphins march had alarm'd, came to demand a confirmation of the ancient Alliances between *France* and *Germany*. Their demands were granted them; and as there is a time when the Spirit of Peace is predominant, the truce was prolong'd for five years between *France* and *England*. The Court in such a quiet calm began to think of nothing but divertisement: and the Marriage of *Margaret*, Daughter of the

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the King of *Sicilie*, with *Henry* King of *England*, occasion'd such extraordinary rejoycings, that they had almost forgot their last troubles. Never was a more beautiful Court, nor a more numerous, then that of *Nancy*: For not to speak of the several Princes and Princesses that were of lesser dignity, there were two Kings, and three Queens beside. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was sent to fetch the new Queen of *England*, had with him the flower of the English Nobility. Several daies were also spent in magnificent Turnaments, where the King of *France*, and the King of *Sicily* ran together.

But *Aubusson* soon grew weary of that which employ'd others so much to their delight. Besides that he naturally lov'd war, he had Principles of Piety which did not correspond with a lazie and voluptuous life. On the other side, the victories of *John Hunniades*, and *George Castriote*, which they had obtain'd against *Amurat*, inspir'd him with a new zeal for Religion: and the Cruelties which

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the *Turks* exercis'd against the Christians at the Battel of *Varna*, awakn'd in him the hatred which he had conceiv'd against the Enemies of Jesus Christ.

He could not but with great grief of mind understand the report which ran at that time, that *Uladislaus* King of *Poland*, and Cardinal *Cesarini*, the Popes Legate had been flead alive by those Barbarians. But it was joyful news to him, that the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, had obtain'd several advantages against the *Saracens*; and that the Soldan of *Ægypt*, had a little before rais'd his seige from before *Rhodes*. In the midst of these thoughts, he took a resolution to fight against the Infidels, and to the end he might be indispensably engag'd thereto, he fram'd a design at the same time to embrace the military order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. Heaven, that inspir'd him with these high thoughts, gave him the power to execute them with speed. He departed for *Rhodes*, not all the Charms of the Court being able to detain him.

The

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The multitude of *French* Gentlemen that daily throng'd to *Rhodes* to be made Knights, had oblig'd the Grand-master to make an Order that none would be receiv'd, until the Treasury, exhausted by the late Wars, were somewhat repleniſh'd. Nevertheleſs *Aubusson* was admitted; whether it were that they saw in his person somewhat extraordinary that spake in his behalf, or that it were a peculiar favour, in respect to *Lewis D'Aubusson* his Uncle, one of the most famous Knights of *Rhodes*, and known in History by the name of the Commander of *Charroux*: Or whether it were that the Grand-master were inspir'd to exceed his own Rules in favour of a Person, who was afterwards to be the support of the Order.

Our new Knight had no great difficulty to undergo the usual Examinations, though at that time they were much more strict than afterwards. For all things that render a Family Illustrious, were to be found with advantage in his: For as to the antiqui-

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ty of it, the original of the House of *Aubusson*, is unknown and uncertain, as of most Families in the World. But that which may be certainly averr'd is this; that in the time of *Charlemaine*, the Ancestors of *Pierre D' Aubusson* were very famous in *France*. For the Kings of the second race having settl'd Counts to govern every Province, and these Lords alwayes chooſing the greatest Lords of their Province for their Lieutenants, *Jeffrey*, first Count of *Marche*, chose his Lieutenant out of the House of *Aubusson*, about the year 860. This Lieutenant to the Lord, whose name we know not, was call'd Vicount *D'Aubusson* from the name of the principal Place which he possess'd.

Turpin, who was elected Bishop of *Limoges* in the year 898, and whom *Aymar* of *Chabanois* extolls no less for the splendor of his Birth, then for the holiness of his Life, was the Son of the first Vicount of *Aubusson*, and Brother of *Reginald* the first, who was Vicount under his Father,

under

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under *Sulpicius* the ſecond, Earl of *Marche*, Son of *Jefferey*.

The dignity of Vicount remain'd above four hundred years in that Family of *Aubuſſon*, ſucceſſively from Father to Son, till that Raymund the firſt having no Children, ſold it to *Hugues* Earl of *March*, to the prejudice of his Brother *Ranulphus D'Aubuſſon*, who continu'd the Poſterity.

Piety and Liberality, which in thoſe times highly diſtinguiſh'd the great Lords from thoſe of mean extraction, were hereditary vertues in this Family. For, not to ſpeak any thing of Biſhop *Turpin*, ſo magnificent in all that concern'd the worſhip of the Altar; the Vicounts *D' Aubuſſon*, were alwaies very Religious, and gave conſiderable Donations to ſeveral Churches and Abbeys.

Theſe Lords and their Deſcendants ſignaliz'd themſelves upon ſeveral Occaſions, where the intereſt of *France* was concern'd. Witneſs *Guy D'Aubuſſon*, who performed ſo many noble Acts, in the War with the *Engliſh* under *Charles* the fifth, who having re-

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ceiv'd many wounds in the defence of his Castle of *Monteil*, was tak'n Prisoner with his Wife and Children by the Enemy. Witness also *John D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Borne*, *Anthony D' Aubusson*, Lord of *Villeneare*, and *Anthony D' Aubusson* Lord of *Monteil*, who made their fidelity and their zeal for the service of *Charles* the seventh appear; whose Chamberlaines they were at such a time when all the Kings Officers were Peers of high quality.

Lastly, that which infinitely advances the House of *Aubusson*, and perhaps distinguishes it from all others, is this, that being so ancient, it was never mix'd, but has still in the same County preserv'd the same Estate; so that *Francis D' Aubusson*, Duke and Peer, Marshal of *France*, and Collonel of the French Guards, possesses at this day the Signiory of *Fueillade*, which has been time out of mind in the possession of the Vicounts *D' Aubusson* his Ancestors.

But to return to our History, *Aubusson* was no sooner arriv'd at *Rhodes*,

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Rhodes, but he understood that there was a peace going to be made with *Amurat*, and that it was almost concluded by the Soldan of *Egypt*. In regard he had an extream passion to fight with the enemies of Christ, this news was not overwelcome to him, only he was in hopes that it would soon be brok'n.

In the mean time he set himself to study the duty of a true Knight. Presently he understood that the Knights of *Rhodes* were to joyn together in Valour and Piety: that a cowardly Knight, or a Libertine, was something monstrous: that for them to live according to the intent of their Calling, there was a necessity for them exactly to follow the maxims of the Gospel, and that they were not to draw their Swords, but in the defence of the Church, or for the relief of the Faithful: that for that reason they wore their Cross upon their Habit, and that their Impresse was, *For the Faith*. He oft'n revolv'd in his mind the vertues and the exploits of those ancient Knights that first made themselves

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ſelves Maſters of *Rhodes*, and afterwards ſo couragiouſly withſtood *Otoman* the firſt King of the *Turks*.

But notwithſtanding the peace, becauſe it did not hinder the roving of Turkiſh Pyrates, he ſeveral times put forth to Sea, and ſo well acquitted himſelf upon all occaſions that preſented, that he obtain'd the commandery of *Salins*, in the firſt years of his ſervice.

John de Luſtic, who at that time govern'd the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and who was the firſt to whom the publick vogue gave the title of *Grand-maſter*, ſoon conceiv'd a high Opinion of Monſieur *D' Aubuſſon*, as well as *James de Milli*, who was *Grand Prior* of *Auvergne*, and who ſucceeded *John de Luſtic* in the charge of Grand-maſter.

The affairs of *Rhodes* were calm enough, when the death of *Amurath*, or rather the ambition of *Mahomet* his ſucceſſor, rais'd ſtrange troubles over all Chriſtendom.

Mahomet the ſecond is ſo often mention'd in the ſtory, that I am to write,

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write, that it will not be amiss to describe him before I go any farther. He was one of those extraordinary personages, who are not only endow'd with great Vertues, and great Vices; but one also freight with qualities altogether opposite. Never was there a Prince more wise, or more led away; more valiant, nor more effeminate, more a Master, nor more a Slave to his passions then he. Though he had a Countenance somewhat wild, and something of terrible in his eyes, he could put on a mild and engaging Aire when he pleas'd. His Serraglio follow'd him every where; and he gave himself up to his pleasures in the midst of the toyles of war; but he was melancholy and cruel in the height of his pleasures, killing sometimes with his own hand his Favourites and his Mistresses in the heat of his debauchery; so soon he alter'd from love to choler and fury. He also committed these cruelties sometimes in cold blood, more out of Policy then transportation. And it is reported of him, that when he reproach-

proach'd the Souldiers for effeminacie, and slackness in discipline; certain among them taking the boldness to hit him in the teeth with a young Grecian whom he passionately lov'd, he caus'd her to be brought forth, and to be by them beheld at leisure: whereupon when the Souldiers dazl'd with her beauty, agreed that the Emperors passion was not without good reason; *Mahomet* immediately striking off her dead with his Scimitar, laid her head at their feet, to let them understand, that Pleasure was not his Master, and that whatever proneness he had to it, he lov'd nothing beyond his duty.

He was brought up by his Mother in the principles of Christianity, & instructed by *Maximus*, Patriarch of the *Greeks*. However, he only made profession of the Mahometan Religion, or rather he had no Religion at all; laughing at his Prophet, and regarding less the Alcaron then the Gospel. He freely confess'd that the Christian Law was an admirable Law: but he so much abhorr'd the Christians, that when he met

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met with one, he was alwaies wont to wash his hands and mouth, as if the very sight of a Christian had defil'd him.

He thought all things lawful to obtain his ends: and never kept his word, but when it stood with the conveniencie of his affairs. For he pretended that he ow'd no respect to any one, and treated all men like slaves, not considering that he ow'd to himself the fulfilling of the word which he had giv'n to others, and that the laws of fidelity oblige the Masters as well as the Slaves. Yet was he just to his Subjects, and administer'd justice equally to all his people. He thought much, spoke little, neglected nothing, inform'd himself of all things, and disguis'd himself often to see what pass'd in his Serraglio, and in his Army. He understood several Languages, and several Sciences, amongst the rest Astrology, which he study'd very much. He was a lover of learned men, and excellent Artists of any Nation whatever. Magnificent toward

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ward the one and the other. Observing no moderation in reward, no more then he did in punishment. Indefatigable he was in war, a contemner of danger, resolute in bad fortune, insolent or moderate in prosperitie, as occasion requir'd: cunning to conceal his enterprises, and discover those of his enemies: Artificial in his management, making use of the vilest means to compass his ends: but ambitious to excess: accounting all his conquests as nothing, and still every day proposing new to himself. So predominant was the love of honour in him, and *Alexander* the great so much his model, that he read his life continually, which he caused on purpose to be translated into Arabic, and he did him the honour to imitate him even in his vices.

When *Mahomet* had taken possession of the *Ottoman* Empire, after the death of *Amurath* his Father, he was presently for an universal Monarchy, and first he undertook to subdue the Empire of the *Greeks*. He began his military expeditions with the

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ſeige of the Capital, notwithſtanding the peace which he had made with *Conſtantine Paleologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; or rather it was under the protection of a peace ſolemnly ſworn, that the *Barbarian* turn'd his armes upon that ſide.

In regard *Conſtantine* had made no proviſion againſt an attempt which he did not miſtruſt, and for that the ſuccour which he receiv'd from the King of *Arragon*, the Pope, and the Republick of *Venice* came too late, he could not ſuſtain the force of ſo great an Army; ſo that the City was carri'd by aſſault by the Infidels, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the Chriſtians. Never was ſeen a more tragical ſpectacle, than that which was then beheld. They made a moſt horrible ſlaughter every where; nothing eſcap'd the fury of the Souldiers. Women & Virgins of qualitie were publickly defil'd; and afterwards inhumanly maſſacred. The Images & reliques of the Saints were cut to pieces. The Reſemblances of Chriſt thrown to the dogs; and the great

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great Crucifix dragg'd about the ſtreets, with moſt dreadful acclamations and imprecations. *Conſtantine* rather choſe to dye in the defence of his Crown and faith, then to fall alive into the hands of the Barbarians. His head was carried upon a Lance round about the City; and that there might not any footſtep remain of the family of the *Paleologi*, *Mahomet* caus'd the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood-Royal to be ſlain in the midſt of a magnificent Banquet; whereat he treated the Principal Officers of his Army.

1453 The taking of *Conſtantinople* caſt a terror upon all the *Eaſt*, and oblig'd the Deſpote of *Servia*, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Emperour of *Trebizond*, to ſue for the friendſhip of the Turk. Which they could not obtain, but upon paying a certain Tribute, as the Iſlands of *Scio*, and *Meteline* did. The Knights of *Rhodes* would not ſtoop to any ſuch diſhonourable condition; and though *Mahomets* Ambaſſador threatn'd the Knights with all that could be expected from a Potent

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a Potent and Victorious Prince, if they refus'd to pay him 2000. Duccats a year, the Grand-Master answer'd with a generous Christianity, That the Order of *Rhodes* acknowledg'd none but the Apostolick See, which knew not what it was to pay Tribute: and that for his part he was resolv'd rather to dye a thousand deaths, then to suffer in his time, that the Government which he had receiv'd free, should become tributary; and that if *Mahomet* made war against the faith of Treaties, he hop'd that God, who is the revenger of injuries and impieties, would defend his own Worship against all the *Ottoman* Power.

In regard the Knights were fearful least so fierce an Answer might provoke *Mahomet*, they made it their business to provide against so formidable an enemy. But because the Society was then poor, and not able to maintain a long war of it self, they thought it their best way to engage the Christian Princes to their side, especially the King of *France*, upon

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whom they lookt upon as the best friend of their Order. The Commander *D'Aubusson* was chosen for this Embassage out of all the Commanders of the French Nation. Not only because he had a particular knowledge and dexterity in managing affairs, but because he was known to the Court of *France*.

He departed from *Rhodes* at the time that *James de Milli* succeeded *John de Lustic*, Grand-Master of the Order, and arriv'd in *France*, a little after the Cardinal *d'Avignon*, whom the Pope had sent thither, to encite the French against the *Turk*. The Embassador of *Rhodes* was entertain'd after an extraordinary manner, either because the Court had a great esteem for him, or because they had a design to keep him in delay. He saw through the gentleness and caresses which he receiv'd, which way the Court stood affected toward the Holy-war. The King would not undertake it by any means, whether he thought his Kingdom too much exhausted to defray the expence of a war

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war that might prove of a long continuance; or whether he minded nothing but his Repose, after his past toiles, or that the Charms of the fair *Agnes* had cool'd his zeal which he formerly had for the interest of the Church; or whether it were that he would not submit to the inclinations of his Son, who was retir'd male-content, to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, the most zealous of all the Christian Princes, and one that had declar'd himself so much an enemy of the Turk, that he solemnly swore to make war upon them.

The Cardinal Legate who was a Frenchman, and very understanding in affairs, appli'd himself wholly to effect this Negotiation. After many Conferences in vain with the publick Ministers, he treated at last in particular with the King, not being able to obtain any thing. *Calistus* being advertis'd of the Kings disposition, writ to him very sharp Letters; threatning him at length with the Thunderbolts of *Rome*, and the Malediction of Heaven, if he refus'd

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the holy League. Those Letters wrought no effect, if they did not make it worse. The King was incens'd at the Popes threats, and not perswaded by his reasons. In such a tickliſh conjuncture, there appear'd no probability of hopes for the Commander *D' Aubuſſon*. However he ceas'd not to act: and in regard that besides the character of an Embassador he had other good qualities, which made him esteem'd by the King and his Ministers, he was heard more favourably then the Legate.

He represented at first that Christendom was never in more eminent danger, and that there was nothing which we had not to fear, if the Progress of the Infidels were not quickly stopp'd; that *Mahomet* since the taking of *Constantinople* aim'd at nothing but *Rome*; that he was fall'n into *Hungaria*, to enter into *Germany*, with a purpose to make his way that way into *Italy*. That it was one of his maxims, that as there is but one God in Heaven, so there could not be but one Monarch upon Earth: That he

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he had been conſtrain'd to raiſe his ſiege before *Belgrade*, becauſe he had not taken the right courſe, and for that he had been wounded himſelf, but that his misfortune had no way diſincourag'd him; that he was one of thoſe great men that make the beſt advantage of their errors and misfortunes; or rather that he was like the fiercer ſort of Beaſts, who when they have receiv'd a wound and feel their blood begin to flow, are never more furious till then. That ſince his ill ſucceſs in *Hungary*, he had drawn to his ſide the Soldan of *Egypt*, the *Caraman* and the *Tartar*, and that he would return with freſh forces to the ſiege of the *Belgrade*; and that his Generals who had tak'n almoſt all the Iſles in the *Archipelago*, would ſoon powre their fury upon *Rhodes*. In ſhort that thoſe two Ramparts of Chriſtendom being forc'd, not any of the Dominions of the Chriſtian Princes could be ſafe, either by Sea or Land.

Aubuſſon, afterwards repreſented to the King, that being the eldeſt Son

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the Church, he could not forsake their interest without dishonour to himself. That as for the transportment of the Pope, it was but a transportment of zeal, and that his good intentions deserv'd the pardon of a few sharp expressions. He added at length, that because there were in *Rhodes* more Knights of the French, then of any other Nations in the world the Monarch of *France* could not in justice dispence with succouring the Island, at a time when it lay only in his power to do it. That *Alphonsus* King of *Aragon*, so wise and so brave before he came into *Italy*, was not only effeminated by the delights of *Naples*, but embroyl'd with Pope *Calixtus*; who though a native of *Arragon*, had refus'd to give him the investiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and to assure the succession to *Ferdinand* his natural son. That *Henry* King of *Castile*, as poor spirited, and more vitious then his Father, had busines at home and abroad; and that his Rebellious subjects found him as much work, as the Moors of *Granada* his

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his Neighbours and Enemies. Thas *Henry* of *England* was not Maſter at home, and that the Duke of *York* who had uſurp'd the Government, minded nothing but to ſuſtain himſelf againſt his Rivals. That the Emperor *Frederick* liv'd an idle life, minding neither his own honor, nor the ſafety of Chriſtendom. That beſides, the war grew hot between the Empire and *Hungary*, and that *Ladiſlaus* at the ſame time was to make head againſt the Emperor and the Turk. That civil diſſentions turmoyl'd all *Italy*, and that the Kingdoms of *Sweedland* & *Denmark* were full of troubles, *Chriſtiern* had been ſet up in the place of *Charles*, whoſe irregularities and crimes had render'd him unworthy of the Crown. That *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, quiet enough at home, wanted not a good will, but that all he could do was but very little, if a Prince more potent then himſelf did not aſſiſt him. That thus *France* being the only Kingdom in *Europe* that enjoy'd a true peace; it was only from *France*.

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that they could expect relief sufficient to ruine the designes of the Port, and for that reason parhaps it was that Heaven had freed it from the power of the *English*.

All these reasons propounded after a smart and insinuating manner, made a deep impression upon *Charles*'s thoughts. That Prince who was so averse before to the Holy-war, began to desire it, and awaking from the profound sleep wherein his pleasures had lull'd him, he only follow'd the motions of his Piety and Courage. He gave liberty to Cardinal *D'Avignon* to leavy a tenth upon the Clergy, to defray the expence of the war; he entred into a League against *Mahomet* with *Hungarie*, and that there might be no question of his faithful inclinations, he confirm'd the League by the marriage of *Magdalene* of *France* his Daughter with King *Ladislaus*. As for the Knights, he promis'd them all assistance, and immediately caus'd sixtie thousand Crowns in Gold to be paid to the Embassador of *Rhodes*.

Aubusson

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Aubuſſon lay'd out that mony for proviſions of war, according to the orders he receiv'd, and freighted away Ships laden with Canon, Armes, Powder and Lead. Then he departed himſelf, after he had collected moſt of the money, which was due to the Order in ſeveral parts of *Europe*.

The ſucceſs of the Embaſſie, and the Letter which he preſented to the Grand-Maſter from the King of *France*, made him to be acceptably receiv'd by the Knights and all the people. The Letter was very generous and very obliging. For the King after he had only ſpok'n a word or two touching the gratifying of their deſires, and excus'd himſelf for not having done more at the preſent juncture, frankly engag'd himſelf to give them farther aſſiſtance, and aſſur'd them of his friendſhip, in very civil and affectionate language, which Kings were not wont to make uſe of.

But whatever obligation the Order had to *Charles* the ſeventh, the Spaniſh

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nish Knights could not forbear to deal very rudely with the French Knights at a general Chapter, held a little after the return of the Embassador, and which was no less famous for the attempts of Hostile Nations or enemies of *France*, then for the number of famous Commanders that were present.

So soon as the Chapter war open'd, the Knight *de Linian*, Procurator of the Spanish tongue, stood up, and said aloud, that they ought not to proceed any farther, without decreeing one Article which he ought to propose, and which was very important, the publick tranquility. To which purpose, he requir'd, that all the dignities of the Order should be equal, and that there should be no distinction of Languages, nor of precedency, nor in any other marks of Honour. He was seconded in his proposal, by the Knight *de Rivalta*, Procurator of the Italian tongue, and the Procurators all *England* and *Germany*. But the French, who had alwayes march'd before other Nations, oppos'd

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pos'd with all their might the Propoſal of *Linian*, and above all the Commander *D'Aubuſſon*, who held a conſiderable degree in the Aſſembly, by vertue of his title of Conſtable of *Rhodes*, and Procurator of the Grand-Maſter.

The zeal which he had for the Honour of his Country, made him ſpeak louder and more earneſt then the reſt. To ſhew how unjuſt the Propoſition of the Spaniards was, he declar'd in few words, that the French being the firſt Founders of the *Order of St.* John *of* Jeruſalem, deſerv'd ſuch honour as ſhould diſtinguiſh them from other Languages that were aſſociated with them, and which they had adopted: That thoſe particular honours being the recompence of their vertue, it would be injuſtice to deprive them of them. That their Predeceſſors had peaceably enjoy'd them, without being ever moleſted or oppos'd: That antiquity of Poſſeſſion was a good Title for precedencie: And that in a well regulated Conſtitution all Innovations were of dangerous conſequence:

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quence: After all, that it was not a time then to dispute of such matters, and that they would incur the malediction of the Church, according to the Popes Breif touching the celebration of the Chapter, if they discours'd of any other matters, then what concern'd the general good of Christendom.

The *Spaniards* and their accomplices often interrupted *Aubusson*, and endeavour'd to carry by force, what they could not obtain by justice. But finding at length that the *French* party was the strongest, and that they were not all hearkn'd to, they flung out of the Assembly, and afterwards departed the Town, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Grand-Master: so that this Affair, which, as the *Spaniards* pretended so much imported the publick tranquility, was but a trick to divide and break up the Assembly.

But the Commander *D' Aubusson* had another occasion to stand up for the honour of *France* while he defended his own. The news being brought

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brought to the Grand-Maſter that *Mahomet* was equipping out a great Fleet, and that the Turks might attacque the Iſland of *Rhodes*, the Knight *Villemarin* a *Spaniard*, and a perſon of merit, but ambitious, and naturally turbulent, propos'd in Council with much heat, that he might immediately give order for all things neceſſary for the defence of the City, and made a large recital of what was needful, with all the marks of a ſedulous care. *Aubuſſon* who was Caſtellaine of the City, and who beſides that, exercis'd the Command of Captain General in the abſence of the Marſhal of the Order, fearing leaſt *Villamarin*, whoſe haughty and daring humour he knew, ſhould uſurp the charge of Captain General, anſwer'd him ſternly, that there was no want of power; that he might ſet himſelf at reſt for that; and that he had nothing to do to intrude himſelf upon thoſe duties that did not belong to him: That it was the Captain General who was to take care for the ſecurity of the City: That that employ-

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employment anciently belong'd to the *Auvergnon* Tongue, and that the *Spaniſh* Language had nothing to do with it.

Villemarin made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to his reaſons, and gave no reply at that time, either to conceal his deſign, or to give himſelf time to conſider what he had to do. But the next day, having conſulted the Knights of his own Nation, which were return'd to *Rhodes*, whoſe behaviour the Grand-Maſter had alſo pardon'd, he appear'd at the head of them in Council, and with an affected Air of modeſty, ſaid, that the *Spaniſh* Language did not pretend to the charge of Captain General; but that he, and all the reſt of the Nation deſir'd that they might have the opportunity to perform their duties to the utmoſt of their power, as well as the *French*. *Aubuſſon*, who ſaw that this manner of proceeding, was only a meer fetch, and that the *Spaniards*, under pretence of demanding the exerciſe of their duty, had a deſign upon the Command it ſelf, re-

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pli'd with more ſternneſs and vigour then before, that the charge of Captain General was annexed to the dignity of Marſhal of the Order; that only belong'd to the *Auvergnian* Language, of whom the Marſhal was the chief, to do the duties of it; and that *Spain* had nothing to do to meddle with *France* as to that particular. The Council adjudg'd that *Villemarin*'s warineſs was without any ground; and the Affair was decreed in favour of the *French*, to the diſgrace of the *Spaniards*, who in vain proteſted againſt all that was done, in regard that their Proteſts could not be Regiſter'd.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which *France* had in theſe Conteſts, that hinder'd not, but that *Peter Raymund Zacoſta*, a *Caſtillian*, was choſen Grand-Maſter, in the room of *James de Milli*, who dy'd at that time; the *Spaniards* were alſo divided into two Languages, the one *Arragonian*, the other *Caſtillian*; in favour of the latter of which, there was a new Dignity created under the Title

Title of Chancellor of the Order. Yet neither the credit which the *Spaniards* had with the new Grand-Maſter, nor the animoſities which they had conceiv'd againſt the *French* could hinder, but that the Commander *Aubuſſon* had alwaies his ſhare in the management of Affairs, and was highly honour'd by the Chapter General which was held at *Rome*.

To underſtand this part of the Hiſtory, it is convenient to relate the reaſon which oblig'd the Grand-Maſter to paſs into *Italy*, with the principal Knights, at a time when it was thought that they ought not to have been abſent.

The Negotiation of the Embaſſador which *Mahomet* ſent to *Rome*, to treat of peace, or rather to lull the Knights aſleep while his Arms were employ'd in other places, having not taken effect, the Grand-Maſter thought it convenient to lay up a bank for the War, and began to levy the Tax which had been impos'd upon all the Eſtates of the Order.

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The most part of the absent Commanders, who lead lives irregular enough, and for whom great Revenues were not large enough to maintain their luxury, refus'd to pay that which was their due. However, to excuse themselves in some measure, they cry'd out that the Tax was too high, that *Zacosta* sought only to ruine them, and enrich himself; and that his Government grew every day more and more tyrannical. They also did him ill offices to the Princes which they found enclin'd to hear them. The *Italians* and *French* did all they could to animate against him the Duke of *Venice* and the King of *Naples*; but the *Spaniards* render'd him altogether odious to the King of *Arragon*, already provok'd for that the Council of *Rhodes* had tak'n from an *Arragonois* the Commandery, of *Empostà*, to put *Zacosta* in his room. That Prince, who was one of the Greatest of his time, and who wanted not for credit at *Rome*, inform'd the Pope of all, and advis'd him to send for the Grand Master, and to

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examine how he had carry'd himself. The Pope believ'd the King of *Arragon*, but to save in some measure the honour of the party accus'd, he order'd the General Chapter, which should have been held at *Rhodes*, to be held at *Rome*, where the affairs of the Order might be better consulted then in any other place. *Zacosta*, who was ignorant of the evil designs of his enemies, blindly obeys the Orders of the Pope, and his innocency seem'd to afford him strength to undergo the toil of a Voyage in the extremity of old age.

In this famous Assembly it was, wherein *Paul* the second presided in Person, that the Commander *D' Aubusson* was highly preferr'd. For besides that at the opening of the Chapter, he was chosen for one of the Procurators of the Treasury, he was one of the sixteen Knights that were afterwards elected, and who according to the Statutes of the Order, had a joint power to look after the most important affairs.

But his principal business was to justi-

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justifie the innocence of the Grand Master *Zacosta*; to which purpose he ply'd Cardinal *Ursini* and the Arch-Bishop of *Milan*, who were brought into the Chapter by the Popes order, being persons in whom the Pope had a great confidence. After he had well inform'd them of the loose life of the Knights who refus'd to pay the Tax, he easily made them understand, that the Complaints which they made against the Grand Master had no other foundation then the dissoluteness of his Enemies. But to remove out of the Popes thoughts all apprehensions of any tyrannical Government exercis'd by the Grand Master, he engag'd several of the most sober and prudent Knights to give testimony to the Pope of the conduct and management of *Zacosta*.

The Pope was asham'd that he so easily believ'd the accusers of *Zacosta*; and to make him some kind of publick satisfaction, he caress'd him, and shew'd him more then ordinary favours before all the world. But as his Holiness had been inform'd by

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Cardinal *Ursini* and the Arch-Bishop of *Milan* of the debauchery of the disobedient Knights, he consulted with the Grand Master how to reduce them to their duty. He also made a speech in Latin to the Knights that were assembled upon the obligation that lay upon them all together, to lead a life not only vertuous and regular, but holy and irreproachable. The zeal of the Pope rais'd up that of the Chapter. They seriously fell to consider what way to take to remedy the disorders that were crept into the Order, and made Laws for the Reformation of Manners, which after they had been examin'd by the sixteen Knights, and some of the Cardinals, were approv'd and confirm'd by the Pope himself.

Aubusson was extreamly rejoic'd that he had not labour'd in vain; but he had not the satisfaction to see the Grand Master himself put the Laws in execution; *Zacosta* dy'd as soon as the Assembly was broke up. The Pope was so much the more aggriev'd at it, because he lookt upon himself to

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to be in some sort the cause of his death; for it was the general report that this journey to *Rome* had shorten'd the days of that venerable old man. He was buried with a magnificence extraordinary in the Church of St. *Peter*, before the Chappel of St. *Gregory*. The Marble that was laid over him, sufficiently testifies him to have been illustrious in piety, in charity, and in wisdom; and his Epitaph might have serv'd him for an Apology, had he had any need of it after his death.

Baptista Ursini, Prior of *Rome*, was elected Grand Master, before the Knights were separated. He departed for *Rhodes* presently after his election, upon information that his presence was absolutely necessary there. When he came there he found the Treasury wasted, the Fortifications decay'd, good part of the Ammunition spent, and all the Inhabitants of the Island alarm'd at *Mahomets* preparations. The *Barbarian* puft up with his former Conquests, advanc'd every day like a furious Torrent that finds no

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reſiſtance, or which becomes more impetuous and rapid by the reſiſtance which it meets with. The death of the generous *Scanderbeg* made him more inſolent then ever; inſomuch, that when he heard the news, he ſaid, that he would now be ſoon Maſter of Chriſtendom, ſince ſhe had loſt her Sword and Buckler.

The firſt ſtep which the Grand Maſter made to remedy theſe diſorders, was to recall all the Knights which the journey to *Rome* had ſcatter'd, or which the pleaſures of *Italy*, or the affairs of the Order hinder'd from returning.

The Commander *Aubuſſon*, who was recall'd by name, came to *Rhodes* at the ſame time that two Gallies were preparing to ſuccour the Iſland of *Negropont*, into which *Mahomet* was enter'd by land with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, by the help of wooden Bridges built upon great Barks in the Streight of Saint *Mark*, while *Baſha Mahomet*, his Favourite, aſſail'd it by Sea with a Navy of two hundred Sail.

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The impatience which *Aubusson* had to fight the Infidels, made him eager for employment upon this occasion. The Grand Master had already nam'd the Knight *Cardona* to command the Gallies; so that all he could do for *Aubusson*, was to give him the Command of a Troop of stout men, that were order'd to be the Companions of *Cardona*'s Fortune. When the Gallies were ready, they set sail, and join'd with the *Venetian* Fleet, which the Republick sent to the relief of *Negropont*. The Fleet appear'd in view of the Isle when the Barbarians were ready for the assault; and *Mahomet*, who saw them coming, was not a little troubled. But all that preparation came to nothing, and the Knights were forc'd to lye still, and behold the City taken before their faces, through the cowardice or imprudence of the *Venetians*, who having the Wind and Tide favourable, instead of making use of the opportunity, stopt short, and fell to consultation, when it was time to act.

The Grand Signior was so enrag'd

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at the succour which the Order had given to the *Venetians*, and the incursions which they had made into divers parts of *Turky*, during his being busied in *Negropont*, that without any farther deliberation he declar'd War against them. A Herauld publish'd the Declaration by sound of Trumpet; and *Mahomets* rage went so far, that he vow'd in a furious passion that he would kill the Grand Master with his own hands, and cut to pieces all the Knights that fell into his power.

After a War so solemnly and outragiously declar'd, there was nothing thought upon in *Rhodes* but to make preparations to withstand the fury of *Mahomet*. They began with a general Assembly so soon as the Gallies were return'd; and *Aubusson* was in this Chapter one of the sixteen Knights who govern'd every thing, as he had been in that of *Rome*. He was also one of the Administrators of the Treasury, which were elected extraordinarily; for as there was little order in the Treasury, and for that the Chapter of *Rome* had very much

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much exhauſted it, they thought it convenient to truſt the management thereof to ſix Knights of known integrity and ability, giving them an abſolute and independent power as to what concern'd the publick ſtock, without obliging them to give any account to the Grand Maſter, or the Council.

But beſides thoſe advantages which *Aubuſſon* had common with the reſt of the Knights, he was alſo honour'd in particular with a new dignity. The *Auvergnian* language repreſented to the Council, that in regard they had a great number of Knights that faithfully ſerv'd the Order, and few dignities that depended upon the Council, they demanded for a recompence of their ſervice, that they might have beſtow'd upon them ſome particular juriſdiction, as other languages had, that were leſs ancient and leſs numerous. The requeſt ſeem'd but reaſonable, ſo that the Chapter in favour of them made a new Capital Juriſdiction; they gave them authority to aſſign a Commandery for the revenue.

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venue of the Charge, and declar'd at the same time, that the Baily whom they should elect, should enjoy his Commandery in the same manner as other Bailies; that is to say, that he should enjoy all the prerogatives and pre eminencies that are appropriated to Capital Jurisdictions and Commanderies. They annex'd the Commandery of *Luteil* to the new Bailywick, and after that *Aubusson* was elected Baily, as he that was adjudg'd fittest for the dignity.

The first time that *Aubusson* took his place in Council as Baily, he spoke for *Charlotte de Lusignan* Queen of *Cyprus*. For that unfortunate Princess, whom the Rebellion of her Subjects had reduc'd almost to utmost extremity, could find no Sanctuary but *Rhodes*, after the ruine of her affairs. There she stay'd for some time, and was entertain'd at the expences of the Order.

But in regard her ill fortune had not broken her courage, she resolv'd upon a journey to *Rome*, to desire aid of the Pope against her rebellious Sub-

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Subjects, or at leaſt to oblige him to thunder out againſt them the Anathema's of the Church. And that which made her abſolutely determine upon that courſe, was the conveniency of the *French* Gallies then in the Port of *Rhodes*, which were ſuddenly to ſet ſail for *Naples*. But in regard ſhe was very poor, and had not wherewithall to defray the expences of her journey, ſhe deſir'd thoſe Knights who ſeem'd to have moſt compaſſion and kindneſs for her, to ſpeak to the Grand Maſter to ſupply her with what was neccſſary to carry her into *Italy*.

The Baily *Aubuſſon* was very much troubled for the misfortunes of the Queen, and eſpous'd her intereſt. He wiſh'd with all his heart, that the condition of the affairs of *Rhodes* would have permitted the Knights to have reſtor'd her to her Throne, nor were there any dangers to which he would not have expos'd himſelf to ſerve her. But becauſe there was no likelihood of undertaking any thing abroad, while the Order was in ſo much

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much danger at home; he only represented, that since the Knights of St. *John* were not in a condition to restore a Queen dispoil'd of her Kingdom, that had put her self under their protection, that they would at least relieve a Queen in necessity, who did as it were crave their Alms. That it was true, that the Treasury was not over-rich, and that Mony was a precious thing in case of a Siege, but that there were certain occasions, wherein decency, generosity, charity and justice were to prevail above ordinary prudence; and that after all was done, that the Springs of Providence were inexhaustible, and that Heaven was never wont to fail them that inconvenienc'd themselves to relieve the miserable. He spoke with so much earnestness, and with such a lively and encouraging Air, that the Council order'd, notwithstanding the opposition of the Knights, either wanting generosity, or over-prudent, that the Queen of *Cyprus* should be plentifully furnish'd with all things necessary for her Voyage.

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The Baily *D' Aubuſſon* was order'd himſelf, as one of the Managers of the Treaſury, to give her what Money he ſhould think fit; and he ſo well acquitted himſelf, that the Queen had no occaſion to complain.

But to return to the preparations for War, though the *Venetian* found the *Turk* employment ſufficient in *Dalmatia*; and that the Alliance which the *Venetians* had made with *Uſſumcaſſan* King of *Perſia*, after the taking of *Negropont*, had ſomewhat diſcompos'd the deſigns of *Mahomet*, however the Knights were careful to ſtand upon their Guard; and becauſe the Walls were either ruin'd or weak in ſome places, they labour'd continually in the repair of them, giving to Baily *Aubuſſon* the charge of looking after the Fortifications of the City. He had apply'd himſelf in his youth to that Military Science, wherein betimes he became ſo expert that the moſt able Ingineers could teach him nothing. He was not content only to repair the breaches, but he added ſomething new to the ancient Works.

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Works. He caus'd the Moats to be made wider and broader; but because it was nois'd about, that *Mahomet* was preparing his Galleys against the Knights of St. *John*, and that the *Turkish* Army which had rais'd their Siege from before *Scutari*, might well come to *Rhodes*, the Council thought it necessary for fear of being surpriz'd, to plant their Cannon round the Walls of the City; which was also entrusted to *Aubusson*'s care, who brought out all the great Guns and planted them upon the Walls and Ramparts, wherever occasion requir'd.

He was then Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, having succeeded a little before to the Chevalier *Cottet*, who dy'd about that time; and surrender'd his Bailywick to the Knight *de Rillac*.

But while they were thus preparing to receive the *Ottoman* Army, the Grand Master *Baptista Ursini* dy'd also; the loss of whom might have ruin'd *Rhodes*, had it not been repair'd with advantage. For in short, it was *Aubusson* himself whom the Knights

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Knights aſſembl'd choſe for Grand Maſter, *Anno* 1476. Never was Election more regular, nor with leſs diſturbance then that. It was made according to all the forms which the Statute preſcribes; and the ſixteen Electors whom the Aſſembly choſe out of the whole number of Languages, to elect whom they ſhould think moſt capable of the ſupreme power, gave their ſuffrages with one conſent for *Peter D' Aubuſſon* Grand Prior of *Auvergne*. 1476

At the name of *Aubuſſon*, the whole Aſſembly with redoubl'd ſhouts and acclamations teſtify'd their unparallel'd joy. He only was ſorry when he heard himſelf nam'd, and at firſt he refus'd a Command of which he did not think himſelf worthy. But I know not by what inward motive, which afterward prevail'd, he was forc'd to accept it, almoſt againſt his own will. Yet could he not refrain from tears, when according to the cuſtom, he was carry'd in his Seat to the Great Altar upon the Shoulders of the principal Commanders,

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ders. There it was that confessing his weakness to sustain so great a burthen, he receiv'd the submissions of the Knights, after he had solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists to observe the Statutes of the Order.

The news of this Election was no sooner spread over the Island, but the people made Bonfires, and testify'd all the signs of publick joy. This caus'd every body to hope for a happy Government; neither was *Mahomet* so much fear'd, when they understood that the Grand Prior of *Auvergne* had the Authority in his hands.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubusson, Grand Master of RHODES.

Book Second.

SO soon as the Grand Master was acknowledg'd in *Rhodes*, his first care was to render to Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth that Obedience which is due from the Chief of an Order wholly devoted to the Sacred See.

To that purpose he held a Council the next day after his Election, and nominated the Prior of *Lombardy*,

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together with the Prior of *Rome*, for that Embassy.

Then he apply'd all his thoughts to the Government of a Dominion of which he had taken possession. And not to loose time, he began at the very first to act as Grand Master.

Though the *Ottoman* Army were as yet far enough from *Rhodes*, nevertheless the Island was not a little infested by the incursions of the *Barbarians*. The Pyrats, who landed day and night in several parts, pillaged the Cities, burnt the Houses, massacred and carried away many of the Christians.

The Grand Master thought it convenient to put a stop to these disorders that so sensibly afflicted him, and for that purpose to build upon the Coast at such & such distances, several Forts and Towers to hinder the landing of the Pyrats. But because this design requir'd a great sum of Money, and that these Pyracies had very much exhausted the Grand Masters Revenue, he ordain'd for the raising those works, that all those Knights who

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who obtain'd Commanderies by favour only, ſhould pay the value of the firſt years Revenue to the Order, ſo ſoon as they receiv'd their Commiſſions, without which payment the Donation ſhould be void.

The Grand Maſter alſo took in hand again, and went on with all thoſe works which were diſcontinu'd by the death of the Grand Maſter. More eſpecially he forwarded the new Wall of the Arſenal, and took upon himſelf the charge of looking after it. But in regard it was of high importance to look after the ſecurity of the Port, he order'd the Grand Prior of St. *Gilles* to provide a Chain to ſhut it up. He alſo at the ſame time gave order to the Chevalier *Raymond*, who commanded in the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, to widen the Mote ſo far for the Sea to fill it, that the *Brigantines* of the Caſtle might ride there ſecure from Enemies and Tempeſts.

The Caſtle St. *Peter*, which we ſhall have often an occaſion to mention, was a ſtrong place, ſcituated in *Cana*,

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between two Arms of the Sea, which form'd a Peninsula, built upon the ruines of the ancient City *Halicarnassus*, near the place where was formerly the Sepulcher of *Mausolus*, so famous for the love and grief of *Artemisia*. The Order of St. *John* is beholding for that Fortress to the prudence and valour of one of the *French* Grand Masters. For *Philibert* of *Nailac*, Grand Master of *Rhodes*, desirous to make his best advantage of the consternation of the Infidels, after the Battel wherein *Tamerlain* had taken *Bajazet* Prisoner, fitted out the Gallies of the Order, and sailed directly for *Caria* with the choicest Knights of the Order. He took a Castle there from the *Turks*, the situation whereof seem'd to him to be of so much advantage, that he built in the same place another almost impregnable, which he call'd the Castle of St. *Peter*. This place it was which in the midst of the *Turks* Dominions serv'd as a Sanctuary for the poor Christian Slaves that can get away from their Masters. And here it was, if

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if we may believe the Writers of that age, that certain Dogs, of a particular breed, who by a strange instinct of nature, watch'd all the night long; and would fly upon the *Turks*, and fawn upon the Christians, as if they had known the one from the other.

Among all the Knights which the Grand Master employ'd according to the variety of occurrences, and which were always neareſt his person, there was not one in whom he put more confidence then in *Charles de Montholon.* He was a person of a very good judgment, and one that bare the character of being fierce in fight, temperate in counsel, and one that had a genius capable of every thing. This Knight acquitted himself of several Trusts that were put upon him for the defence of the City; and he it was that had the charge of fortifying St. *Nicholas Fort.*

While the Grand Master issued out his orders, and labour'd himself to have all things in readiness to sustain a Siege. *Antonio Loredano*, General of the *Venetian* Fleet in the Island of

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Cyprus, understanding that *Riccio de Marino*, a *Cipriot* by birth, and a person born for intrigue, and one of the most zealous Servitors of *Charlote de Lusignan*, negotiated at *Rhodes* to the prejudice of *Katharine Carnara*, he sent an Ambassador to complain in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, for that the Knights did entertain those that were Rebels to the Republick.

It is impossible to understand the grounds of that Embassy, nor the answer of the Grand Master, without being inform'd beforehand of the Claims of those two Princesses to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and wherefore the Republick took *Katharine*'s part, and oppos'd *Charlota*.

John de Lusignan King of *Cyprus*, one of the weakest and most effeminate Princes that ever sway'd a Scepter, had only one natural Son, who was nam'd *James de Lusignan*, when he espous'd his Second Wife *Helena*, of the House of the *Paleologi*, and Daughter of the Despote of *Moria*. By this second Wife he had a Daughter

ten nam'd *Charlote*, who was married to *John* of *Portugal*, Duke of *Coimbria*. This Prince, who had both wit and courage, being at the Court of *Cyprus*, easily wound himself into the management of affairs, and depriv'd the Queen of all that authority which the weakness of the King had permitted her to use.

The Queens Nurse, who govern'd all things before the marriage of the Princess *Charlota*, and was afterwards in little esteem, reveng'd the Queen's and her own disgrace, by poysoning the Duke of *Coimbria*. She had a Son, whom she passionately lov'd, and whom during her grandeur, she had made a kind of absolute Minister of State. The death of the Prince restor'd to the Mother and the Son the authority which they had lost. But as persons of mean Birth usually forget themselves, when rais'd above themselves, the insolence of the one and the other was so excessive, that they us'd the Dutchess most contemptuously.

Charlota deeply resented both the

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death of her Husband, and the scorns put upon her when she was a Widow. She complain'd to her Brother *James de Lusignan*, and her Complaints were not in vain; for this natural Son of the King, equally cruel and ambitious, kill'd with his own hand the Nurses Son, not so much to satisfie his Sister, as to govern in his room, and to open to himself by that means a way to the Throne. The Queen, who tenderly lov'd her Nurse, could not be brought to pardon *James* whom she mortally hated besides; so that to avoid the anger of a Woman, a Queen, and a Mother-in-Law, he was forc'd to conceal himself in the *Venetian* Consuls House, and at length to quit the Kingdom.

In the mean while the Dutchess of *Conimbria*, who was in the flower of her age, and in the full splendor of her beauty, was remarried with *Lewis* Son to the Duke of *Savoy*. Soon after this marriage the King and the Queen dy'd. The King by his Will declar'd *Charlota* his only Heir. But the natural Son, whom ambition blinded,

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ed, had no regard either to the Laws of Nature, or the laſt words of a dying Prince. He made War upon his Siſter and his Brother-in-Law, by the aſſiſtance of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who rather choſe to have a *Grecian* Prince his Tributary, then any other. *Marc Cornaro*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who liv'd at *Nicoſſa*, and was very rich, did not a little help the *Baſtard* to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſle, and uſurp the Crown. The Uſurper therefore, to acknowledge his ſervices, and to fix the *Venetians* at the ſame time to his intereſts, eſpouſed *Katharine* the Daughter of *Carnaro*, after the Commonwealth had adopted her. But this new Dominion was too unjuſt to endure long or happy. The Uncles of *Katharine*, who ſhar'd in the Government, poyſon'd the King of *Cyprus*, with a deſign to raign themſelves. And it was in favour of his Widow that *Michael Salamon* came to *Rhodes* on the behalf of General *Loredano*, who was gone to *Cyprus* to reſtore *Katharine* to the poſſeſſion of her Kingdom.

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The *Venetian* Ambassadors deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master from the Duke of *Venice* full of reproaching and menacing Language. Afterwards he himself declar'd with much haughtiness, that since the Common-wealth had adopted *Katharine Cornara*, that it was an injury done to the *Venetians*, to favour Rebels that caball'd against a Daughter of St. *Mark*, and their lawful Queen.

So proud and surly an Embassy, no way pleas'd the Grand Master; however he thought it not convenient to provoke the *Venetians* by too severe an answer, at a time when the order had their hands full. Nor could he stoop to qualify them with an answer too much beneath himself. And therefore he answer'd with a Gentility and sowreness mix'd both together, that the Knights of St. *John* neither meddl'd with the differences in the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, nor would they suffer any Traitors in *Rhodes*; but that the Island being a free Island, they

they denied admittance to no Christians who desir'd to live among them like Christians.

Sabamon, was not satisfy'd with the Grand Masters answer; and *Loredano* less. He thought his own presence would do more then his Embassador; for which reason he hastens away to *Rhodes*. When his Gallies enter'd the Port, the Master sent four of the Grand Crosses to congratulate his arrival, and to present him with all sorts of fresh Victuals; but being informed of the occasion of his coming, he sent to tell him plainly, that he could make him no other answer, then what he had already given him. That concise Declaration, caus'd the General to understand that his Voyage was lost: so that without considering any farther with himself, or so much as setting foot ashore, he return'd with all the choler that could inspire a fierce and daring person, for having tak'n so much pains so little to the purpose.

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The haughtiness of the *Venetians* was not the only cause of the ill success of their Embassie. The kindness which the Grand Master had for *Charlota de Lusignan*, had a deep share therein. Though the Knights of St. *John*, had never openly declar'd for *Katherine Cornara*, nor were willing to contest with the *Venetians*, about their affair: certain it is, that in their hearts they were all for *Charlota de Lusignan*; whether it were that they were satisfy'd in the Justice of her cause; or that the compassion which they took upon her misfortunes, caus'd them to embrace her interests; or whether it were, that the most of them were taken with the Charms of her beauty. They had seen her several times at *Rhodes*, she was as yet young enough; for her misfortunes had not defac'd her beauty, nor depriv'd her of her natural gayity of humour. She spoke very pleasingly, and readily, according to the natural Genius of the *Greeks*; she drest her

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ſelf after the *French* mode, and her diſpoſition, her air, and manners plainly ſhewed her to be of Royal Extraction.

The Grand Maſter had always admir'd in the perſon of *Charlota*, beſides the graces of her body and mind, a prudence that exceeded age, and a conſtancy above all her ſex. But the chiefeſt motive was, that ſhe had put her ſelf under the protection of the Knights; and for that ſhe had already receiv'd all the aſſiſting kindneſſes that ſhe could in reaſon expect. Her acknowledgment alſo oblig'd them to ſhew her new marks of their eſteem and affection. For ſhe publickly declared that ſhe had been more oblig'd to the Knights of *Rhodes*, then to all her neareſt Relations: and becauſe the Commonwealth had adopted her Enemy, ſhe was wont pleaſantly to ſay, that if *Katharine Cornara*, were the Daughter of St. *Mark* of *Venice*, *Charlota de Luſignan* was the Daughter of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*.

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But perhaps the great esteem they had for *Lewis* of *Savoy*, her husband contributed more then any other reason, to make the Grand Master and Knights favourable to her interests. They were all perswaded that the order of St. *John* were beholding for their preservation to the house of *Savoy*: and it was a common opinion among them, that *Amadeus* the fifth, surnam'd the Great, coming to the relief of *Rhodes*, and having constrain'd *Ottoman* to raise his Seige, took for his impress these four Letters; F. E. R. T. that is, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, his Fortitude kept *Rhodes*. And that in his arms he chang'd the Eagle of *Savoy* into the Cross of the Order, to let all the World know his devotion to the service of the Knights, immortalizing the memory of an action that had been so serviceable to them. Nevertheless the whole Story is but a Fable without foundation or probability. For the devise, *Lewis of Savoy*, *Baron de Vaud*, who dy'd in the year 1301, stamp'd it

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it upon his money, ten years before the Seige of *Rhodes*. And in the Cathedral Church of *Agosta*, upon the Sepulcher of *Thomas de Savoy*, the second of that name, there is still to be seen, a Dog lying at his feet, with this word engraven upon his collar, *FERT*, in *Gotthick* Letters, without any points, or separation of Letters. As for the Cross, the predecessors of *Amadeus* the fifth, carryed it instead of the Eagle, either as Earls of *Piemont*, the Arms whereof were the Eagle. Or in imitation of *Amadeus* the third, Earl of *Savoy*, who took the Cross upon him in the year 1147, and kept it at his return from *Palestine*, as a testimony of his expedition beyond the Seas. *Amadeus* the great also wore it himself in the year 1304. when he appear'd at the Treaty which he made with *Stephen Coligny*, Lord of *Andelot*. But though the Story of *Amadeus* be false in all the circumstances, it pass'd for Currant at *Rhodes*, as well as in other places. And therefore it is no wonder, if the Grand Master

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Master led by the Popular error respected *Amadeus* in *Lewis*, *Charlota's* Husband, beyond either *Katharina Cornara*, or the *Venetians*.

The Proposal which the sub-Basha of *Pizzonne* Governour of *Lycia* made to the Grand Master was heard more favourably then that of the Duke of *Venice*. There were at that time several Knights, and many subjects of the order, Slaves to the *Turks*. These *Barbarians*, in whom sometimes covetousness serves as a Counterpoise to cruelty, had a desire to get Mony, and the *Sub-Basha* sent to *Rhodes*, a Merchant call'd *Cachim Brahim*, to traffick for the delivery of the Slaves. The Grand Master who stood in need of Men, and sought nothing more then the liberty of so many unfortunate Persons, was soon perswaded to treat with the *Turkish* Merchant; and he agreed also according to the *Sub-Basha's* command, that there should be a Truce for a Month between the Order and the Turks, that they might treat without interruption.

During

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During this Negotiation, there happen'd one thing very remarkable: one of the *Turks* that belong'd to *Cochim Brahim*, one day offer'd his ſervice to the Grand Maſter, to bring him an accompt from *Conſtantinople* of the deſigns and readineſs of the Ottoman Army; of which they had no certain news for a good while. He promis'd to make all poſſible haſt, and after he had confirm'd his words by moſt terrible Oaths, he ſaid that he could not reſiſt that inward Motion that compell'd him to ſerve the Knights, againſt his Law and his Prince. Though the Grand Maſter did not much rely upon the faith of a perſon who had all the looks of a Traitor, yet he thought it not convenient to refuſe an offer, which if it fail'd, could do no harm. So without confiding in the *Turk*, or making any ſemblance to defy him, he gave him a paſport for his return; and out of hopes that God would be pleas'd to overthrow the deſigns of *Mahomet*, by the means of a *Mahometan*, he ſuffer'd the voluntary ſpy to go where-

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ever the Spirit which he spake of, conducted him.

But if Heaven on the one side seem favourable to the Order of St. *John*, on the other side, it seem'd no less incens'd against it. For a prodigious Tempest arose all of a sudden, when the Sky seem'd to be very serene. The Rain in an instant made an Inundation over all the Countrey; and the wind threw down several Houses in the City; among the rest, the Archbishops Palace. That which was most deplorable, was, that the violence of the Storm shook the old Wall of the City, and overturn'd a good part of the new. Had the Enemy then come, *Rhodes* had been lost; so far had he been from finding resistance there, that he had only come to view the Image of a City tak'n and sack'd. The publick Consternation made the mischief more lamentable. The People that are presently alarum'd by any thing that appears extraordinary, took such a horrible Tempest, as a certain presage of their ruin: and the greatness of the danger had certainly cast them

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them into a general despair, had not the constancy of the Grand Master supported them.

Scarce was the Tempest over, when a Contest which the *Greeks* and *Latins* had, about I cannot tell what point of Doctrine, rais'd a Popular Tumult. Of a single dispute, by degrees they made a real quarrel, which came to blows. And as in quarrels about Religion, every one is apt to call his particular transportment a piece of merit, their Animosity and fury one against another wax'd so hot, that several had been kill'd upon the place, had not the Grand Master made use of all his policy and authority to appease the Tumult. He did not content himself to make both parties lay down their Arms; and to punish the most culpable, to keep the rest within the bounds of their duty; but he resolv'd to pull up the Root of the Sedition; and because the difference was about Religion, he engag'd the Arch-Bishop of *Rhodes*, and the Metropolitan of the *Greeks* to make a Reconciliation.

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A pacification being thus made, and the walls of the City being almost repair'd; he made a visitation through the Island, to view himself, and to give order for the Fortification of those places that had need of defence. Having spent a whole month in this Visitation, at his return he found the *Greek* Spy, who inform'd him that the Infidels made very great preparations, that their Fleet was to set sale with the first Wind from the streight of *Gallipoli*, and that it was certainly confirm'd at *Constantinople*, that the great *Turk* would set upon the Knights of St. *John*.

The Grand Master well know that it was one of the maximes of the *Turkish* policy to give out false reports, the better to conceal the true design. That it was their custom to keep an Enemy in suspence for several years, to the end he might exhaust himself with continual and needless preparations; that they came upon their Enemies, when they were weary of expecting them, and thought no more of them. But on the other side

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side he was not ignorant that they did not always observe the same rules, nor the same method in War; but that it was one of their Stratagems to divulge the expedition which they intended, that people should not believe it; or that it was design'd at a distance, and in the mean time to use all diligence imaginable to prevent the resistance and provision of the Enemy. And therefore he thought it the secureſt way to neglect nothing, and to provide against a siege, as if the intelligence of the Spy had been unquestionable.

After he had taken upon him the charge of Captain General of *Rhodes*, which the Council besought him to accept, he chose out for the defence of the City four Captains of assistance, as they were then call'd, and assign'd to every one their duty and their Post. Besides the Knights which he had already sent to *Lango*, he sent with the Title of Captain of assistance the Knight *Grimaldi* with the same Commission for the Castle of St.

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Peter, which the Lieutenant of the Baily of *Germany* was to visit by his order.

In the mean time Intelligence came that the Fleet of the *Barbarians* had set sail out of the Streight to the number of two hundred Gallies, that they were then at the Island of *Scio*, and would soon be at *Rhodes*. This News made the Grand Master give order, that all the Country people should retire into the Forts, and that no person should stir forth, till the Light-Horse appointed for the Guard of the Island, had visited the Coasts, and and all places where the *Turks* could lye in Ambuscado. He order'd also that all Strangers and Vagabonds that were in *Rhodes* should be all enroll'd; and that the Knight *Friqueroly* should command them. That all Vessels that were in port should be stay'd, and that they should be furnish'd with all things necessary for their subsistance.

He sent at the same time a Brigantine to *Scio* to observe the Enemies Fleet, and he understood that the Infi-

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Infidels had in vain attempted the taking of *Stalimene*, where they had put all to fire and Sword; that from thence they sayl'd to *Scio*, where they had had no better success, but had made the same havock: that from thence they were fall'n into *Lango*. From whence, after they had wasted the whole Countrey, they were gone to *Patmos*, with a design upon the Castle of St. *Peter*, and thence to return to *Rhodes*: but understanding that the grand Master had put those Forts into a good condition, they had steer'd another course, and after they had comitted some spoil at *Naxi*, they were return'd at length to *Constantinople*.

This Intelligence somewhat enliven'd the *Rhodians*, however it did nothing slak'n the Industry and Vigilance of the Grand Master. He knew the tricks of the Infidels, and it was one of his Maximes, that it was equally dangerous to be lull'd asleep upon good news; as to be alarum'd at bad. Moreover, he was

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advertiz'd by his Spies, that the *Turk* was absolutely resolv'd to besiege *Rhodes*; that that expedition was deferr'd till the next year, and that *Mahomet* would command in Person. How untrue soever this intelligence might be, the Grand Master made his best advantage of it.

As the hope of relief inspires both consolation and courage during a Siege, he order'd the Knight *Cardona*, Baily of *Marjorca*, who was gone into *Catalonia* and *Arragon*, to put in execution the orders of the last Chapter touching the new Taxes, to levy men, and to buy all sorts of Ammunition and provisions, to send them away with all speed, and to agree with the Masters, so that they should be oblig'd to enter the Port, though the City should be besieg'd.

But because that many of the Knights were abroad, and that the Council was resolv'd to hold a General Chapter to provide for the present necessities, the Grand Master wrote to all the Priors a Circulatory Letter, the Original whereof is still preserv'd among the

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the Records of *Malta*; wherein he laid before them the great neceſſity of their aſſembling altogether, the near approach of the Enemy, his power, the goodneſs of his Souldiers, and his determin'd reſolution to ruin the Order of St. *John*. Then he beſought them to lay thoſe things to heart, and conſider the dangers that environ'd them, and that it concern'd their ſafety and their honour, not to prefer the pleaſures of this world before the defence of all Chriſtendom.

After he had ſent away this Letter, he repreſented very earneſtly to the Council, that for the preſervation of the people of *Rhodes*, it was neceſſary to repair, and regularly to fortify the Caſtle of *Caravia*, which fell to ruin. He gave them to underſtand that the Countrey where this Caſtle was built, wanted Inhabitants, becauſe the Countrey people were forc'd to retire to the moſt remote places; and that it would in time be quite diſpeopl'd, though that part were the moſt pleaſant and fertile of all. He added that

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that Countrey was not to be quitted nor left desert, but that the whole Island would suffer very much; and that to avoid those Inconveniencies, he thought it very necessary to reinforce that place, so that it might be defended, and serve as a Retreat for the Countrey people like the other Fortresses. The proposal of the Grand Master was approv'd by all the Council, and for the more speedy putting it in execution, it was resolv'd at the same time, that a years revenue of the Office of the Grand Mastery, vacant by the death of the Grand Master, *Baptista Ursini*, which was put into the Treasury, should be employed upon that necessary use.

And in regard the last Chapter had order'd the making new Walls and Bastions about the Castle of *Rhodes*, the Grand Master caus'd some of the Money that came from *France* to be paid out for that purpose.

Lewis the Eleventh, who succeeded his Father *Charles* the Seventh, and who when he was only *Dolphin*, had honour'd the Grand Master with his

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his particular favours, forgot him not when he came to the Crown. He was inform'd in general of the condition of the affairs of the *Levant* by the Knight *D'Ambroſe*, who was ſent to receive the Money in the Priories of *France* and *Champaign*, which was due to the Order. But he was fully inform'd by the Chevalier *Blanchfort*, who came a little while after to preſent to his Majeſty a Leopard, and two Falcons of a rare breed. The affection which he bore to the Grand Maſter, made him take thoſe courſes for the relief of the Knights, which perhaps he would not have done through any motion of zeal. That Prince requeſted of Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, a Jubilee for all thoſe perſons in his Kingdom that would aſſiſt the *Rhodians*. He obtain'd that which he demanded, provided that all the Money that ſhould be collected from the charity of the faithful, ſhould be employ'd for no other uſe then for the defence of *Rhodes*; nor can it be ſaid how much this Jubilee advantag'd the Order.

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The affairs of *Rhodes* being thus settl'd at home, he began to rekindle the feud which was between *Turks* and *Saracens*; and having brok'n with the one, he omitted nothing, with the Pope's permission, to league himself with the other. His management was so successful, that the *Saracens* themselves further'd it as much as in them lay. The *Soldan* of *Egypt*, who fearing the Arms of *Mahomet*, sent to *Rhodes* his Favourite, *Dovan Diodar*, to renew the Peace with the Knights. After some conferences between the *Saracens* and the Grand Master, the Ratification was made: and the principal Articles of the Treaty were, that the Order should not set forth any Ships or Vessels to annoy either by Land or Sea the Subjects of the *Soldan*. That they should not permit them to joyn or assist with Souldiers, Pilots, or Guides, any forreign Rovers against the *Soldan*'s interest. On the other side, that the *Soldan* should attempt nothing to the prejudice of the Knights: and that if they were assail'd

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ſail'd by their enemies, the *Soldan* ſhould be oblig'd to aſſiſt and defend them. That the Veſſels of the Order ſailing through the *Soldan*'s Dominions for the *Holy Land*, ſhould pay no duties, and that they ſhould be under his protection as friends. Laſtly, that when the Chriſtian Slaves at *Cairo* ſhould be freed by their Maſters, they ſhould have liberty to return home; and that for thoſe other Chriſtian Slaves that were not affranchiz'd, they ſhould be exchang'd for ſuch other *Moors* that were Slaves, giving a *Moor* for a Chriſtian.

In regard the King of *Tunis* ſeem'd leſs enclin'd to an Accommodation then the *Soldan*, either out of his barbarous haughtineſs that made him deſpiſe the friendſhip of the Chriſtians, or out of juſt reſentment of the injuries which the *Mooriſh* Merchants pretended to have received from the Knights, the Grand Maſter did not think it any derogation from his dignity, to make the firſt propoſal for the intereſt of the Faith. The Knight

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Lamdut had therefore order to go to *Tunis*, who understood so well how to govern the *African* Prince, that a Peace was concluded in a few days. There was a Truce agreed upon for one and thirty years between the *Moors* and the Knights. And the Articles little different from those made with the *Soldan*, were sent to *Rhodes* for the Grand Master to sign. But there was this one Article particular, that the Knights, when they pleas'd, might have liberty to buy within the Territories of the King of *Tunis*, thirty thousand Comb of Wheat without paying duty, whatever prohibition to the contrary, or whatever scarcity were in the Countrey.

The Grand Master sent back, with the Treaty sign'd, *Jerom Barbo*, one of the most prudent men in *Rhodes* to reside in *Tunis*, as Consul, for the Knights, or rather to observe the carriage and actions of the *Moors*, under pretence of looking after the trade of the *Rhodians*.

The joy which the people had upon these new Alliances, was soon disturb'd

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ſturb'd by a general famine in the City and Iſland, occaſion'd by the loſs of certain Barques laden with Corn, that were bound for *Rhodes*, of which ſome were caſt away, others taken by the Pyrats. But when their miſery was at the height, and that they began to deſpair of any remedy, by reaſon that the Sea rag'd in that manner, that no Veſſels durſt ſtir out, a Caravel was driven into the Port by ſtreſs of weather, laden with Corn. A relief ſo unexpected ſeem'd to be a kind of miracle. But becauſe that the Corn which the Caravel brought was not ſufficient, the Grand Maſter gave order to the Captain of the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, to give Paſſports to all Merchants that would bring Corn to *Rhodes*. So that many *Turkiſh* Merchants more regarding their Profit then their Religion, laid hold upon the opportunity to diſpoſe of their Grain, and brought to *Rhodes* ſo great a quantity of Corn, that all the Granaries were ſoon fill'd. Thus the Grand Maſter ſav'd the lives of his people by the means of their enemies,

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mis, and that famine which threaten'd the desolation of the whole Island, did but only serve to create a greater plenty.

While these things pass'd at *Rhodes*, reports ran at *Constantinople* that *Mahomet* was not seriously bent upon the enterprize against *Rhodes*; whether it were that he was afraid of any ill success, and was loth to hazard any thing after so many happy Expeditions, or whether he had any other Conquests in his designs. But some of his Favourites mortal enemies of the Knights of St. *John*, prest him to lay aside all other designs, and to go on with that of the Siege of *Rhodes*.

There were about him two famous Renegado's, who had rais'd their fortunes by the same ways, and resembled one another very much in wickedness, though their Character were different; the one was called *Demetrius*, a *Negropontine*; though he were one of the most wicked wretches in the world, he had all the Air of a vertuous man; and never

Greek

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Greek knew how to conceal such a vast store of perfidiousness under the outward appearances of truth and justice. He had a subtle wit, supple and pliant, every way fit for Negotiation and Intreague. He was also very skilful in War, and resolute upon occasion: after the taking of *Negropont*, he went to live at *Rhodes*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where having taken the Turbant, he so insinuated himself into the great ones of the Court, and gain'd by degrees the favour of *Mahomet*, by giving him an accompt of the situation and force of the Island. The other Renegado was of *Rhodes* also, and was called *Meligale*: This was a man without conscience or honour, stout and bold, but violent and rash; accustom'd from his youth to all sorts of Crimes, and boasting in infamous actions. Having spent his Estate in debauchery, and finding himself deep in debt, he could find no other way to recruit himself then by renouncing his Religion, and betraying his Countrey. Before he went to the Court

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of *Mahomet*, he had more exactly then *Demetrius*, observ'd all the Fortifications of *Rhodes*, and had made a Plat-form of them, with an Inventory of the Artillery, and all the Munitions of the place. By that means he got access to *Bassa Misach Paleologue*, and insinuate himself into the favour of *Mahomet*.

These two Villaines, who were acquainted at *Rhodes*, enter'd into a strict Friendship, and consulted together the destruction of the order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. The confidence that *Mahomet* repos'd in them, gave them the boldness to declare themselves. However, they did not do it at first; they discours'd him several times with the Island of *Rhodes*, laying before his eyes the beauty of the Countrey, the temperature of the Air, and the conveniency of the Harbor. After which they represented to him sometimes by word of mouth, and sometimes by the information, which they had given of the Grandees of the Court, that the Knights had usurp'd so fair an Island from the

Mussel-

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Mussel-men, that enjoy'd it before, when *Foulk de Velaret*, a *French* man, and Master of the Hospital of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* setled himself there, that nothing could be more proper for the Ottoman Emperors, then a place that might facilitate the Conquest of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and lastly, that the Enterprize was no less easy then honourable. They told him that there was but little provision, and but few Souldiers in *Rhodes*; and shewing him the Plat-form of the City, they gave him to understand that the Walls of the Castle were old and ruinous; that the Jews quarter was the most weak, and that when he had won St. *Nicholas* Tower, it would be easy to gain the rest. They added also that *Rhodes* being the passage to *Italy*, he was not to despise the Favours of Fortune that offer'd him the Conquest of *Rome* as well as of *Constantinople*; besides that it did not become him to suffer a Captain of a Troop of Vagabond Knights, to refuse to do him that homage which Kings themselves were forc'd to stoop to.

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Now as Princes have their ears open to Councils that flatter their ambition, *Mahomet* easily harken'd to the instigations of *Demetrius* and *Meligate*. However, being wise, and knowing that precipitate rashness is the ruin of many great undertakings, he thought it convenient to consult his chief Ministers before he resolv'd upon any thing: Who being of a contrary opinion to that of the Renegado's, did all they could to divert him from the expedition against *Rhodes*. They represented to him, how that the City was newly fortify'd; that Souldiers and Ammunition were brought in every day; That the Grand Master was an extraordinary person, too courageous to yield, and too vigilant to be surpriz'd. They put *Mahomet* in mind, that though the forces of the Knights were not comparable to his, yet he could never take the least Castle from them, with all the Armies which he had sent against them; and that it behov'd him to consider the future by what had pass'd; besides that upon

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on the leaſt Motion which he ſhould make that way, all *Europe* and *Aſia* would take Arms in favour of the *Rhodians*. That the Grand Maſter had renew'd an alliance with the *Soldan* of *Ægypt*; and that without any great difficulty, he would be able to make the King of *Perſia* his friend. That the Pope labour'd to unite the Princes of Chriſtendom againſt the *Ottoman* Empire; that all theſe Enemies united in a league together, would not fail to aſſault him in ſeveral places together, and make ſuch a diverſion of his own Forces, that in ſome place or other they would certainly recover to his loſs. They added moreover, that there were other Iſlands to take before *Rhodes*. They ſhew'd him beſides, that the Conqueſt of *Rhodes* would be no addition to his renown; that he might conquer new Empires, but never regain loſt honour, which he hazarded all at once in a dangerous expedition, where he had nothing to win, but where he had ſo much to loſe. At length they con-

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cluded all, that the safest way was by negotiation, and accommodation to engage the Knights to pay him some yearly tribute; and thereupon they advis'd him to send an Embassador to the Grand Master to propose him Peace upon those conditions. But that they might not offend the Grand Signior in case of refusal, they were of opinion that the Embassy should be sent in the name of *Zizim* his Son, and *Selebi* his Nephew, telling him also that such a way of proceeding could not but take effect; or at least that during the negotiation, the Knights would not be so strict upon their guards; so that under the pretence of treaty, he might surprize the Castle of St. *Peter*, and facilitate thereby the enterprize upon *Rhodes*, whenever he should determine to undertake it.

Whatever inclinations *Mahomet* might have to follow the counsel of the Renegado's, he stuck to the advice of his Ministers; and it may be said, that at that time he made his ambition give way to his prudence.

They

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They made choice of *Demetrius* for the chief in the Embassy. That wicked man was easily satisfied that his opinion was not follow'd, partly for the confidence which they repos'd in him, and partly out of the hopes which he had, that his counsel might afterwards be resum'd into consideration, if the negotiation which he had taken upon him, did not produce any good effect. He was entrusted with a Letter to the Grand Master, written in Greek, and sign'd in Turkish by the two Princes. The Contents whereof are as follows, conformable to the Original Copy. 1478

TO THE

Thrice Generous, and Thrice Famous Prince, *Peter D'Aubusson*, Grand Master of *Rhodes*; or, Thrice Honoured Father and Lord.

INtegrity and Valour have so many Charms to allure the love of men, of whatsoever Nation or Religion, that it is no wonder if the Princes of the Blood Royal of the Ottomans, *and of the Sect of the Prophet* Mahomet, *have no mean thoughts of friendship for you and your Order. We are obliged thereto, and in some measure forc'd to it, by the Renown which your Heroick Vertues have acquir'd over all the East. Yet some there are who have endeavour'd to render you obnoxious to our Thrice Illustrious Emperor. And some of his Favourites continually exasperate him to turn his Victorious Arms against you, to abolish the Christian Name in your destruction. But we far*

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far from inspiring him with any such thoughts, have us'd all our endeavors to avert his formidable Thunder from your Dominions: and we have been so successful therein, that his Highness refuses not to hearken to Peace, willing to receive you into the number of his Allies. Of which we were desirous to give you information by Demetrius *our Embassador, to whom you may give credit. If you will but listen to the Propositions which he shall make you on our behalf, as we conjure you to do, we are ready to be our selves the Mediators, and the chief Promoters of your quiet. In expectation of your answer, we pray the All-powerful Creator of Heaven and Earth to preserve you in a flourishing condition. From the City of* Patara, *the 9th of* February, *in the year of the Birth of your Prophet* Jesus, 1478.

Your Sons, and good Friend, *ZEM SCELEB*, Son of the Invincible Emperor *Mahomet*, and *Che-Le-Bi*, Sultan *Sangiach* of *Mandactria*.

Though

Though this Letter were but only a snare which the *Sultan* laid for the Grand Master, it was sincere on the Princes side that were put upon the affair. For they had both of them a natural affection for the Knights of *Rhodes*, and something of an inclination to the Christian Religion; particularly *Zizim*, who was endu'd with much Generosity, and a Regularity in his conditions.

After *Demetrius* had presented the Letter to the Grand Master, he declar'd to him that he did not demand but only a slight Tribute for the sole conditions of the Peace; and then craftily insinuated that the Proposals of the Princes were too civil to be deny'd by the generosity of the Knights. That the friendship of the Invincible *Mahomet* was above the value of a slight homage. That it highly concern'd the Christians to act prudently with a Conqueror who made all the Earth to tremble, and who vouchsaf'd to be their friend.

These

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Theſe fair words wrought little effect; for beſides that the Grand Maſter was informed by his Spies, that they had a mind to ſurprize them, he conjectur'd of himſelf at the motives of the Embaſſy by the Perſon of the Embaſſador; who was not unknown to him. The very name of *Renegado* gave him a ſuſpition. He lookt upon *Demetrius* as a Traitor, whom it behov'd him to beware of, and not as a perſon with whom he could negotiate ſecurely. So that the affair miſcarry'd at firſt, where *Mahomet* thought he had done for the beſt. Of ſo great importance it is for the ſucceſs of Negotiations and Embaſſies to employ perſons of Integrity and honour; or at leaſt ſuch as have the reputation of being ſo.

Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter diſſembl'd his diſtruſt, and judging how advantageous a ſuſpenſion of Arms would be, till ſuch time as all the warlike Proviſion which he expected every day were arrived, together with the Knights which had been ſummon'd, he did not utterly reject the

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the Propositions of *Demetrius*, neither did he absolutely accept it: and whatever Artifice the cunning Fox could use to draw from him a precise answer, all his reply was, that the Knights of *Rhodes* could not treat with *Mahomet* without the permision of the Pope; that questionless his Holiness would not oppose the peace, provided that his Master would harken to those Conditions which had formerly been concluded with *Amurach*, that is to say, without any mention of Tribute. That in expectation of the Popes answer, it would do well, if so it pleas'd the *Ottoman* Princes, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, and liberty of Commerce between the Christians and the Turks.

The *Renegado*, who well understood how nice the Knights were in point of Tribute, and thought of nothing more then a positive refusal at first, contented himself that he had set the business a foot. And the better to bring it to a happy conclusion, promised of his own accord, in the names of

Zizim

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Zizim and *Shelebi* what the Grand Master had desir'd, and departed very well satisfy'd: that he was not flatly deny'd.

The Grand Master wrote a very civil Letter to the two Princes; he thanked them for their kind endeavours, and highly applauded their good intentions; but he declar'd at the same time, without so much as mentioning the Tribute, that he could not come to any conclusion, till he knew the Popes resolution, and how the Christian Princes stood affected to it, who made the affairs of *Rhodes* their own business.

Demetrius had no sooner given an accompt of his Negotiation, but the Princes sent him back, with order not to speak a word more of the Tribute, and to demand only some small present, to cover with a specious Title that submission which *Mahomet* exacted from the Knights. But their answer was still the same that they could make no engagement, till they had heard news from *Rome*. All that they could farther say, was, that

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that those Presents which were exacted yearly, did very much resemble presents, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not overforward to make any kind of Presents to the Grand Signior.

Demetrius understood well enough what they meant. However he was yet in hopes that the Grand Master might at length be brought to relent, and to engage him thereto by his Interest, he promis'd him again a suspention of Arms, with liberty of Trade. Nevertheless the Grand Master did not fail to prepare for War, as if their had not been so much as any discourse of peace; and that *Mahomet* should not be inform'd of any thing, he order'd that no Vessel should stir out of the Port. He soon perceiv'd that the Infidels were not very curious in observing Truces: and the advice which was brought him that the *Turkish* Brigantines had taken certain Vessels belonging to the Order, near the Islands of *Calamo* and *Episcopia*, confirm'd him more and more in the thoughts which he had, that

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all this Treaty was but an Artifice; and he rather believ'd that the *Turks* were so much the more ready to besiege *Rome*, by how much they seem'd to be farthest from any such design. So that he renew'd all the Orders which he had given out for the security of the City; he also sent to *Naples* the Knight *D'Alhalat* of *Aragon* to buy Corn, and besides that, as he was resolv'd that the *Barbarians* should not carry by famine what they could not win by force, he sent into *Ægypt* and *Syria* for plenty of all sorts of Provisions.

In the mean time the Knights arriv'd at *Rhodes* from all parts of Christendom. And in regard the assembly which was to be held the first of *May*, was put off by the Popes Bull, and deferr'd to the 28*th* of *October*, by an order of Council they appear'd almost all at a time.

The Grand Master, at the opening the Assembly, made a speech that made no small Impression upon their Spirits. After the usual ceremonies

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and Formalities, the sixteen who were elected for the Government of all things, laid new Taxes upon all the Commanderies, and earnestly desir'd the Grand Master to take upon him the administration of the Revenue. Though he had other weighty business enough to do, and that this alone was sufficient to take up a mans whole time, he readily accepted it; but the easiness wherewith he acquitted himself of a charge so burthensome, oblig'd the Knights to qualify the hardness of the Labour by the entire confidence which they manifestly let him see they had in him. They gave him full power to employ to what uses, and after what manner he should think good, all the money that should be brought into the Treasury. They also order'd that all the Ammunition and Warlike provisions should be put into his hands, to distribute as he should see cause. Moreover that he should have power to create the Receiver General of *Avignon*, and all the other Receivers, by one Warrant alone sign'd by his hand: that

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that without having regard to the priority of Languages, nor the antiquity of the Knights, he might make the *Castellane of Rhodes*, the Judges and Baily of Commerce, the Captain of the Castle St. *Peter*, and all the Captains of the Galleys. That he might also choose the Captains of the three Towers, and the Gates of the City; that in case the Grand Commandery of *Cyprus*, the Bayliage of *Lango*, and the Office of Procurator General at the Court at *Rome* came to be vacant during his administration, it should be free for him to dispose thereof at his pleasure. But to the end he might not be thwarted in the exercise of his charge, they forbid the Bayliffs, the Priors, and all the rest of the Knights to meddle in any manner whatsoever with the treasury. They also gave him the liberty to retain next his person, or to send to what place he pleas'd, seven of the Grand Crosses which they nam'd, and to choose others by his own particular authority, if any one happen to miscarry. Lastly, because

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the revenue of the Grand Master was very much impair'd, because of their extraordinary expences for the Fortifications of the Island, or for the aid of the Subjects of the Order, they permitted him to keep in his hands, during his life, three of those Commanderies which he had the privilege to dispose of himself, as Grand Master.

Hardly were the affairs of the Chapter at an end, when news was brought, that the Infidels had shewn themselves before the Castle of St. *Peter*, under pretence of parlying upon an accommodation, but in truth to surprize the Garrison. The Grand Master wrote further to the Governour of the Castle, and commanded him, by vertue of the holy obedience, to have no commerce with them, and to treat with them as if there were no truce in being. Neither was he satisfi'd in giving him his Orders, and advertizing him of the Ambuscades of the enemies; he also sent him a considerable reinforcement of Knights and Souldiers, which

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which forc'd the enemy to retire.

But that the Order might not be in want of Money, when there was more occasion for it then ever, the Grand Master, according to the absolute authority which he had in the management of the Treasury, establish'd the Knight *D'Erland* his Lieutenant in the Priories of St. *Giles's* and *Tholouse*, with ample power to change the Receivers and the Treasurers; to be urgent with bad Paymasters, and to punish them if there were occasion; and to do his utmost to raise what large sums he could. He dispatch'd away the Knight *Chialli* for the same cause, into the Priories of *France*, *Aquitain*, and *Champaign*, after he had honour'd him with the dignity of Knight Hospitaller of the Order, which he had tak'n from the Knight *de Molay*, for not appearing at *Rhodes* according to the time prefix'd in the Bull. He more severely handl'd also other Knights, who being oblig'd to have made their appearance at the Assembly, had contemn'd his Orders,

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and instead of hastning to the defence of the Island, loyter'd at home, either plung'd in the pleasures of an effeminate life, or taken up with the affairs of the world. For after he had declar'd them disobedient and Rebels, he took away from them their habit, and cut them off from the body of the Order.

Now, though *Mahomet* got no advantage by all his devices, however he continu'd his undermining practices; imagining, according to the principles of his policy, that men were so much the more to affect credit and reputation, by how much the more those persons, with whom he treated, had a distrust; and that there are such moments wherein the wisest are surpriz'd, when a man knows how to maintain a cheat long enough.

Therefore in some measure to repair the fault which he had committed, in making choice of a suspected person, he sent a *Turk* of merit to *Rhodes*; and to take off all suspition, he resolv'd to appear, and own the

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the negotiation himself. The Embassador did all that lay in his power to perswade the *Rhodians* to believe that the Grand Signior sincerely desir'd a Peace; and he declar'd in full Council, that he came as well on the Grand Signior's behalf, as on the part of *Zizim*, to conclude it in the most amicable manner that might be. He deliver'd himself worthy and nobly, and far from that insolent and disdainful air with which the *Turks* are wont to treat the Christians, with whom they negotiate; there appear'd neither pride nor haughtiness in his behaviour. But all this affected carriage, whereby the Embassador of the *Ottoman* Court pretended to dispel the suspitions of the Grand Master, did but augment them. He conjectur'd that such an extraordinary shew of sincerity was but a mask of more fine and subtil deception; that there was no more credit to be given to the words of the unknown person, then to the *Greek* Renegado: For which reason he gave the second Em-

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baſſador no other anſwer then he had giv'n the former. But becauſe that he who intends to defend himſelf from a conceal'd enemy, is not by any means to make his diſcovery publick; and for that there are certain decencies to be obſerv'd with Illuſtrious enemies, how perfidious ſoever they be; The Grand Maſter would not permit the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador to have the leaſt glimpſe of his intentions, but ſent a Knight along with him, to let *Mahomet* underſtand that the Order was ready to make Peace with him upon the ancient conditions, but that he could not ſubmit to the payment of any duty. *Mahomet* extremely reſented a refuſal ſo plain and ſo haughty, but he had ſo much power over himſelf as to diſguiſe it. And therefore inſtead of manifeſting his diſpleaſure againſt the Embaſſador of *Rhodes*, he ſhew'd him all the marks of his favour; and the better to make good his Politicks, he added rich Preſents to his flattering words.

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Yet all this did not dazle the eyes of the Grand Master; and therefore considering what he had done, he thought it but reasonable to put himself in a posture to expect the utmost of extremities, believing it would not be long ere the Grand Signior's fury would break out.

Mahomet indeed set forth from *Constantinople* with a Puissant Army. But instead of turning towards *Rhodes*, he march'd toward *Scutari*, whether it were out of an intention to amuse the Knights, making them believe that he had no thoughts upon them; or whether he had a design to affright them, and at the same time to punish the *Venetians* for their obstinate resistance. The City was besieg'd three years by the *Turk*; and it may be said, that never place was more vigorously attacqu'd, nor more generously defended. The Assailants gave several Onsets at several times; and if we may believe the Writers of that time, they threw so many Arrows and Javelins into the Cities, that the besieg'd had enough to make

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up the breaches of the Walls, and for neceſſary firing when their wood was ſpent. And that which was more ſtrange, they were nothing diſmaid by the cruelties of *Mahomet*, who caus'd three hundred Priſoners to be cut in two in view of the Town. The only want of Victuals and Souldiers conſtrain'd them to ſurrender. And the reducing of *Scutari* was one of the Articles of Peace which the *Turks* made with the Common-wealth of *Venice*.

The Grand Maſter after that made no queſtion but that all the fury of the *Ottoman* power would fall upon him. But becauſe the affair of *Rhodes* was the common cauſe of the Church, and that without the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian Princes, it was not poſſible to hold out againſt the *Barbarians* any long time, he diſpatch'd away three Knights of ſingular worth to the principal Courts of *Europe*.

And becauſe it was of high importance in caſe of a Siege, that ſome of the Knights ſhould continue abroad to ſolicit the Succour of the Princes,

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and to manage the other affairs of the Order, the Grand Master order'd the Knight *Piozzasco*, whom he had establish'd his Lieutenant, when he sent him to *Sixtus* the fourth, and who had always been resident in the Court of *Rome*. He commanded the Knight *Blanchefort*, his Nephew, whom he sent to *Lewis* the eleventh to stay in *France* with the Knights *de Bridiers*, and *de Dauvois*, who accompani'd him in his Embassy. And having thus settl'd his affairs, he resolv'd to put himself into a posture to receive the *Barbarians*, fully believing that the *Turkish* Army would suddenly appear before *Rhodes*. Nor was his conjecture false. *Mahomet* put off his Vizor; and as before his ambition gave way to his prudence, now his prudence gave way to his choler and despight. He could no longer endure that a small Republick should brave him in the very bosom of his Empire, and the haughtiness of the Knights augmented his so far, as to make him fall into transports of rage, which would not permit him to listen

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liſten to the reaſons of his wiſeſt Miniſters. He believ'd none but *Demetrius* and *Meligale*: thoſe two Renegado's obtain'd the ſole diſpoſal of his thoughts; and according to the cuſtom of intereſted Courtiers, who flatter the paſſion of the Prince to ſatisfy their own; they ſo vehemently incens'd him againſt the *Rhodians*, and the Order of St. *John*, that he reſolv'd to lay ſiege to *Rhodes*.

The better to fix and ſettle ſo important an enterprize, he held a ſecret Council, to which he call'd the moſt expert Engineers of all his Armies; but the perſon he moſt confided in, was *George Frapam*, a *German*, who was profoundly skill'd in the art of War, and who after he had liv'd ſome years in the Iſland of *Scio*, went to *Conſtantinople*, where being marri'd, he had acceſs to the Grand Signior, who lov'd men of Parts. He had formerly been at *Rhodes*, and had taken an exact plat-form of the City. Upon this plat-form, as that which was adjudg'd the moſt regular of all the reſt,

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reſt, he began to lay his contrivances for the management of the ſiege. *Mahomet*, who was reſolv'd not to go in perſon, whether for fear of hazarding his Renown, or elſe not caring to honour the Knights by fighting againſt them himſelf, declar'd his Baſha, *Miſach Paleologus*, General of his Army. This was his principal Favourite, and the moſt Illuſtrious *Baſha* of the whole Empire. He was a *Greek* of the Imperial Houſe of the *Paleologi*, born a Chriſtian, and bred up in Chriſtianiſm. He forſook his Religion to ſave his life at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, when the Conqueror put to death all that fell into his hands of the Family or Blood of the Emperor *Conſtantine*. Having abjur'd his faith, it was no hard thing for him to obtain the higheſt Commands in the *Ottoman* Court. His wit, his courage and deportment, were anſwerable to his birth. He had by degrees habituated himſelf to the cuſtoms of the *Turks*; yet not altogether forgetting the faſhions of the *Greeks*; ſo that in him the

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the rudeness of the one, and the politeness of the other, seem'd to be both joyn'd together. When he had gain'd the favour of the Grand Signior, he accompani'd him in all his military Expeditions, and always shar'd both in his designs and Conquests. So that in time he acquir'd great experience in War; and it was the general opinion of *Turkey*, that next to *Mahomet*, there was none more fit to undertake the Conduct of a difficult enterprize then Basha *Paleologus*.

In the mean while, for fear the Grand Master should have advice of what past at *Constantinople*, *Mahomet* set guards upon all the Passes, and commanded his Governors to stop all Posts, and to open all Letters. He order'd also a great number of Infantry to fall down through *Asia* the less. But that it should not be thought that he intended a siege, while he prepares the great Ships which were to carry the extraordinary pieces of Cannon; he sent forth out of the Streight a hunder'd and fifty light Ships with ordinary Artillery, giving

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it out at the same time, that the whole design of the *Ottoman* Court, was to pillage the Sea Coasts and Islands of the Christians.

Basha Paleologus stay'd not till the great Fleet was ready; he went abroad the first Vessels that set sail; and to conceal his design from the *Turks* themselves, he steer'd a course different from that of *Rhodes*. *Mahomet* was pleas'd that *Demetrius* and *Meligale* should bear the *Basha* Company together with the *German* Engineer, from whom he promised himself great matters.

All these precautions of *Mahomet* and the *Basha*, could not prevent but that the designs of the *Ottoman* Court were discover'd at *Rhodes*, the Grand Master being inform'd of every thing by his Spies which he kept in the *Ottoman* Court. However the News did not come much before the Gallies that set out first began to appear. For they shew'd themselves within sight of the Island upon the fourth day of *December* in the year 1479. and came to an Anchor before the Fort

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Fort of *Fano*. The General of the *Turks*, who would not be idle, in expectation of the rest of his Forces, immediately landed the Cavalry which he had brought with him; and order'd his Avant Curriers to harrass the Countrey, and burn the Villages.

The Knight *Rodolphus* of *Wertemberg*, Baily of *Brandenburgh*, whom the Grand Master had assign'd to sustain the first efforts of the Enemy, did not suffer the *Spahi's* punctually to execute the Orders of their General; for he charg'd them at the head of the Light Horse which he commanded, and after he had slain several of them, forc'd the rest to betake them to their Ships.

This Repulse constrain'd the *Bassa* to retire; but it was only to attacque *Felo*, one of the Islands which the Knights possess'd in the Archipelago. The *Turks* batter'd the Fort without ceasing for eight days together, and several times they scal'd the Walls, but all to no purpose; for the Knights, the Souldiers, and the Coun-

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Country men that defended the place, made so stout a resistance, that the Enemy rais'd his Siege with no small loss and disgrace. Whereupon the Grand Master did not only commend in full council the valour of the Garison, but also sent considerable rewards to those that had most courageously behav'd themselves, proportionable to their condition and merit.

These first Exploits encourag'd the Christians, though they did discourage the Infidels. Nor did *Misach Palæologus* lay so much to heart the misfortune of his Arms, as the death of *Meligale*. That *Renegado*, whom the *Basha* reserv'd for great occasions, was struck with a prodigious disease upon the Sea, which carry'd him off in a few days. His body was all over nothing but corruption; and besides the insupportable stench of his Corps, the Worms which eat him alive, render'd him a miserable spectacle to all the world; the sight of which was dreadful to behold. After he had endur'd the utmost

most extremities of Torment, and in vain implor'd relief from Heaven, he dy'd blaspheming God, and cursing men, almost in view of *Rhodes*. Paying that punishment which his Country exacted from him by a most Tragical end.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Fleet pass'd the Streight of *Gallipoli*, and the Forces that came by Land, rendevouz'd in *Lycia*, as they were appointed. There the report ran that *Mahomet* was suddenly dead, and that the Souldiers which march'd from all parts, were only to prevent such Commotions and Insurrections as are wont to happen upon the death of the Emperor. A *Greek* Spy, who was discover'd at *Rhodes*, and the Prisoners that were taken and sent thither by the Knights of the Fort of *Fano*, confess'd all they knew. By other means also the Grand Master understood that the Enemies Fleet drew nearer and nearer, and being one that was accustom'd to false reports, he believ'd nothing less then the death of *Mahomet*; and as for that

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that of *Meligale*, he look'd upon it as an example of Divine Justice, and a pledg of Victory.

However he omitted not to take all the caution that Humane prudence could require. And therefore considering that the Churches of St. *Mary* and St. *Anthony*, that stood without the City, and very near the Walls, might serve for shelter for the Infidels, and annoy the Town; he caus'd them to be pull'd down. He order'd that the Inhabitants who had Gardens and Houses about the City, should cut down all the Trees that did not bear Fruit, and that they should bring into *Rhodes* as much of the Wood as they could. He commanded them also to cut down all the Barley and Oats that were grown up, that the Enemy might want forrage for their Horses, and also all the Wheat, and to spoil the Grass and green Plants. After which having chosen for Captains of the Successors, the Hospitaller, the Admiral, the Chancellour and Treasurer of the Order; he gave instructions to the

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Knights of the several Languages what they should severally act: exhorting them in a few words to acquit themselves faithfully of their duties. *Behold*, said he, *Brave Knights, an oppertunity at length for ye all to shew what ye are. We have provisions of all sorts in abundance, and though our forces are not so numerous as those of the Enemy, they are both valianter and better disciplin'd.* Italy, France, Germany, *all Christendom will send us relief, and we are assur'd of Victory, provided we do our duty. Jesus Christ as our Captain in the War, he will not forsake them that fight for his names sake; And it will only belong to you, when you have caus'd the Infidels to raise their Siege, to drive them out of* Constantinople, *with the assistance of the Christian Princes.*

But because the Grand Master was fully perswaded, that in affairs the best order'd are not always successful, unless favour'd and prosper'd by God himself: he caus'd publick prayers to be made to Heaven, and sent for an Image of the Virgin. It was that which

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which the *Rhodians* worshipp'd upon Mount *Palermus*, and which after *Solyman* had taken *Rhodes* was carry'd to *Malta*, where it still remains in the Church of St. *John* the Baptist. What the fatal Image of *Minerva* was to the people of *Troy*, that was the Image of the Virgin to the people of *Rhodes*; who believ'd they had nothing to fear while she was in the midst of them.

In the mean while the Sentinel that stood upon the top of St. *Stevens* Mount, gave a Signal, to advertize that the Enemies Fleet appear'd. The Grand Master hasted to the Mountain to satisfy his own eyes, carrying along with him men expert in Sea affairs, who were all of one opinion, by the course which the Fleet steer'd, that they were bound to join with the *Basha*, who stay'd for them in the Port of *Fesco*; there to embarque all his Forces. Nor were they deceiv'd. For the Souldiers being embarqu'd with all speed, the *Ottoman* Fleet compos'd of a hundred and sixty Sail, steer'd directly along the

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Coast of *Lycia*, with a fair Gale: at length it appear'd before *Rhodes* a-
1480 gain the 23*d* of *May* in the year 1480. Then to see the excellent order of the *Barbarians*, to hear the joyful shouts of the *Barbarians*, the sound of the Fifes, the noise of the Trumpets; it seem'd, as if they had been Triumphant Victorers making their entry into a conquer'd City.

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THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Third.

THE City of *Rhodes* ſo famous in Antiquity for Art and Science, there cheriſh'd, and for the birth of ſo many famous men, is ſeated by the Sea-ſide upon the deſcent of a little Hill, which riſes inſenſibly, in a pleaſant plain, in the North part of the Iſland, that bears its name. It is crown'd

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with several little Hillocks full of clear Springs; and which in the time of the Grand Master, whose story I write, were all shaded with Orange, Pomegranate Trees, and others of the same nature. It was then well built, immur'd with a double Wall, fortify'd with several Towers, that were encompass'd every one with a kind of Ravelin or Bastion. A great Rampart sustain'd these Walls within, and a large and deep Moat environ'd them without. But toward the South, and on that side where the *Jews* inhabited in the low Town, the Towers were something more distant one from another; for which reason that side was so much the weaker.

The Quarter where the Knights liv'd, which was call'd the Mansions, of the Languages, which was a kind of City by it self, was the stronger not only for its scituation, but also for the scituation which art had added to it. For besides that the Sea wash'd it upon the North and East, it was defended by two Bulwarks,

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nine Towers, and by a particular Fortification that extended it self to the Sea. A very thick Wall, and flank'd with good Towers, separated it from the low Town, which the people and inhabitants possess'd. The Palace of the Grand Master that run along the Mansions of the Knight upon the West side, was better fortify'd then the rest, having three or four distinct enclosures.

The Port that was the chief defence of the whole City, look'd toward the East, and somewhat toward the North. It was made by two Moles, that stretching themselves from the Walls of the City, and almost meeting one another, left no more room but for one Gally at a time to enter. The entry was guarded by two strong Towers, seated upon two Rocks, upon which formerly stood the famous Colossus of Brass, which was accounted one of the seven wonders of the World.

Two little Bosomes of Sea did as it were adorn the Port upon the North and South sides, and a Mole that

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ſtretch'd it ſelf above three hunder'd paces into the Sea, at the end whereof ſtood the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, which clos'd the boſom that lay upon the North.

If we may believe the old *Arabick* Chronicles, intermixt with many fables, this Fort was anciently built by an *Arabian* Prince, call'd by the name of *Muhavias*, a great Souldier, and Son of *Abi Safian*. This Prince, from Governor of *Egypt* and *Syria*, coming to be *Caleph* nine and thirty years after *Mahomet*, was no ſooner ſeated upon the *Arabian* Throne, but he reſolv'd to conquer all the *Roman* Empire; and his firſt deſign was to attaque *Conſtantinople* by Sea and Land. But he was advis'd to go firſt to *Rhodes*, which the exploits of the *Romans* made every day more famous then other, among all the Nations of the World. For the bringing of which enterprize to paſs, having beſieg'd the City, he built a Tower juſt by the Port, upon the Rocks that ran very far into the Sea. And thoſe fabulous Stories relate that he

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he built this Tower ſo high, that the top of it touch'd the Heavens, and the foundations reach'd to the center of the Earth.

The truth is, that after the *Venetians* had rais'd the ſiege of *Rhodes*, in the year 1464, the Grand Maſter, *Zacoſta*, conſidering of what great advantage a Fort built upon thoſe Rocks would be for the defence of the City, began that very year to build the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and that *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, gave twelve thouſand Crowns in Gold to finiſh it; which engag'd the Knights to ſet the Arms of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Provinces under his ſubjection, upon the Tower. 1464

This was the condition of the City of *Rhodes*, when it was beſieg'd by the Army of *Mahomet*. The Fleet came to an Anchor juſt againſt St. *Steven*'s Mount; and mauger all that the Knights could do to hinder their landing, the *Turks* got footing, and lodg'd themſelves immediately upon the Mount, and in the neighbouring plains: At the ſame time they

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they brought a-shore all their Artillery also, and their Engines of War. The *Basha* had in his Army, which consisted at least of a hunder'd thousand men, all the best Squadrons of *Anatolia*, the choice of the *Spahi's* and *Janizaries*, above four thousand Voluntiers, several *Beys* of *Romania* and other Governments; and lastly, several Companies compos'd of the *Veteran* Bands that had follow'd *Mahomet* in all his military Expeditions.

No sooner were they encamp'd, but a Troop of Voluntiers came briskly up to the walls of the City, to brave the *Rhodians*; whether the first heat with which they landed were not yet allaid, or whether they thought that some bold and irregular action could do no harm at the beginning of the Siege. But their precipitation cost them dear; for a party of the Knights sallying out upon them, charg'd them so vigorously, that after they had slain a great number of them, they put the rest to flight. The Knights were no sooner re-enter'd, but the *Barba-*

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Barbarians return'd in better order, and far more numerous, to obſerve the condition of the Town. The Renegado, *Demetrius*, was in the head of them; in whom the *Baſha* moſt confided, ſince the death of *Meligale*. Thereupon the Knights made a ſecond ſally, commanded by *Antony D'Aubuſſon*, Vicount of *Monteil*, the Grand Maſter's Brother.

He arriv'd at *Rhodes* but ſome days before, with an Equipage and a Train anſwerable to his Quality. He came to *Rhodes* not only with an intention to go to *Jeruſalem*, and to viſit the holy Sepulcher, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times; but alſo to aſſiſt the Grand Maſter, his Brother, and to ſerve the Church, finding himſelf in a Siege with which the Knights were menac'd every moment. He was a perſon of great Honour and Generoſity, very skilful in the art of War, and one that profoundly underſtood the world. He was made Captain General of the *Rhodians* upon his arrival, the Heads of the Council, who knew his worth, making

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making choice of him with one consent. He had brought along with him several Gentlemen of *Marche*, that were his Tenants, or else his Friends; not to speak of other Souldiers that accompani'd him, of which the chief were *Lewis* of *Chaon*, of one of the most noble Houses of *Anjou*, *William Gomare* of *Xaintonge*, *Matthew Brangelier* of *Perigord*, *Claudian Colombe* of *Bourdeaux*, *Charles le Roy* of *Dijon*, and *Lewis Sanguin* of *Paris*.

The Vicount of *Monteil* staid not till the enemy came up to him, but march'd to them with his Sword in his hand, and charg'd them vigorously with his Troop. The *Turks* sustain'd the first charge without stirring, and *Demetrius* encourag'd them so by his words, and his example, that they at length made the Christians give ground. They had perhaps put them to disorder, if the Vicount of *Montel* had not impetuously spurr'd his Horse upon the chief of the *Barbarians*, who seem'd to him to be the most resolv'd and couragious. The Knights

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Knights followed the Vicount, and behav'd themselves so valiantly, that the enemies were presently cut to pieces, mauger all the resistance they made. *Demetrius* defended himself with all the courage that honour and fury could inspire into him. But his Horse being kill'd under him, he was himself thrown to the ground, and trampl'd over by the Horses. Insomuch, that he who had abjur'd the Faith, and conspir'd the destruction of *Rhodes*, advanc'd the design of the Infidels no more than his friend *Meligalus*; over whom he had only this advantage, to dye with his Arms in his hands, and signalizing his valour; a death too noble for a Renegado and a Traytor.

The *Rhodians* in this encounter only lost the Knight *de Murat*, of the *Auvernian* Language, and one of the bravest persons of the Order. He was encompast by a Body of *Spahi's*, being in the pursuit of some that ran away, and run through in a thousand places, while he was disarming *Demetrius*. The *Turks* put his head upon

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on the end of a Lance, and to comfort themselves for their misfortune, carri'd it into their Camp with most hideous yellings, and shouts of derision. The body was recover'd out of their hands by Knights, and the Grand Master caus'd him to be enterr'd with all the pomp and honour that so renown'd an action deserv'd.

These first attempts not having succeeded with the Infidels, the *Dutch* Engineer advis'd the battering of St. *Nicholas* Tower, believing that if they could master that, the City would soon surrender; or at least, that they should thereby hinder any Vessel from getting into the Port. The *Bassa* believ'd the Engineer, and the *Turks* carri'd three great pieces of Artillery into the Gardens adjoyning to St. *Anthony*'s Church, which commanded the Tower. They presently cut down the trees, and after they had plac'd their Gabions to secure themselves, they shot without ceasing.

The Grand Master immediately rais'd a Counter Battery with three pieces,

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pieces, in the Garden of the *Auvernian* lodgings. Now, in regard the noise of the Cannon, that never lay still all day long, alarm'd the inhabitants, he walk'd his rounds about the City, accompani'd by the principal Knights, confirming the courage of the people by his presence. He also visited all the Posts the same night, encouraging the Souldiers, and exhorting them to fight couragiously for the Faith.

No sooner the day began to peep, but the *German* Engineer appear'd upon the brink of the City Moat, humbly desiring the Guards to open the Gates for him; but the Souldiers had certainly shot him, had not some of the more prudent Knights prevented them. Thereupon, by the command of the Grand Master, he was set in, and conducted to the Castle. He was a person of a very good presence, and tall in stature; he had a crafty wit, quite contrary to the character of his Nation; bold enough, and one that knew how to use his tongue. He was known at *Rhodes*, and

and was accompted one of the most skilful Artists of his time. Being examin'd what reason had brought him thither, he answer'd, that he came to defend *Rhodes*. That he could no longer endure the reproaches of his own conscience, for having employ'd his art against the faithful; that preferring his Salvation before his Fortune, he did absolutely renounce the advancement which he might expect among the *Turks*; that he should be happy to dye in the defence of the Faith. That he desir'd nothing else of God; but that he durst not hope for a favour, of which he was so unworthy. The Grand Master commended his zeal, without manifesting the least mistrust; and having exhorted him to persist in his good resolutions, he examin'd him concerning the Army of the *Turks*.

The *German*, the more bold, because he thought himself unsuspected, spoke with an air and a countenance that shew'd nothing of a Traytor, that the *Turkish* Army was above a hunder'd thousand men effective, besides

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beſides the Forces that were coming to joyn with them; that the *Turks*, beſides their ordinary Cannon, had ſome prodigious pieces, above eighteen foot long, that carri'd bullets of three foot in diameter. That they were reſolv'd to periſh all, rather then think of raiſing the Siege, which was the only thing that griev'd him. He ſpake with ſo much confidence, that many believ'd what he ſaid, to be real. The Grand Maſter, that he might venture nothing, yet make uſe of the opportunity which Fortune had put into his hands, thought he might make uſe of the Engineer, though he were reſolv'd not to truſt him. To that purpoſe he commanded the Knights, who had the charge of the Artillery, to conſult him in every thing, and not to raiſe any battery without him. And to prevent his return to the *Turks* Camp, or from keeping any correſpondence with them, he order'd ſix of the ſtouteſt Souldiers in the City always to attend him, to whom he gave private inſtructions to keep him always

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in sight, and never to leave him alone all at a time.

Though the Grand Master had sent to *Rome* the Knight *Cardona*, when the Infidels first appear'd before the Isle; however he fail'd not to send again, so soon as they were landed, He sent also to the King of *France* and to the other Christian Princes. But because the Letter which he had sent to the absent Priors, had not taken that full effect which he desir'd; he dispatch'd away another, wherein, after he had given an account of the beginning of the Siege to the Knights that were not yet return'd; he declar'd to them also that having put all his trust in God, he fear'd neither the force nor cunning of the *Barbarians*; yet that he hop'd that persons of their worth and renown, would not fail to come to the relief of the Order at such a time of necessity as this. He added also, that notwithstanding the Siege, the Port should be always open to the Vessels of the Christians.

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In the mean while, *Misach Paleologus* having well consider'd the situation and the outside of the Town; and being of Opinion with the Engineer, that all would follow the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, he caus'd his biggest Pieces to be planted where they had rais'd the first Battery; and in a small time they made above three hundered Shot. The Tower was shaken to the very Foundations, and batter'd in several places. The great Wall upon the West side fell almost all down, and falling, made a most dreadful noise; so that the noise and shouts of joy among the *Barbarians*, caus'd a terrible fear in the City; but they were soon encourag'd by the Exhortations of *Antony Fradin*, of the Order of St. *Francis*, a man eloquent and Apostolick, who run up and down with a Crucifix in his hand performing the same good Offices at *Rhodes*, which *John Capestran* did at *Belgrade*.

The Tower could not stand, considering the condition to which the Canon had reduc'd it, and yet there

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was a neceſſity of preſerving it, or hazarding the loſs of all. Thereupon the Grand Maſter reſolv'd to chooſe the Flower of the Knights and Souldiers to reinforce the Garriſon. And having repreſented to them of what importance it was, not to abandon that poſt, he ſent them thither under the command of *Fabritius Caretta* an *Italian*, conjuring them to remember that they had in their hands the Deſtiny of *Rhodes*. He alſo went thither in a Barque himſelf, to ſee what work the Cannons had made, and finding that the ruines of the Wall had made a kind of Baſtion round about the remaining part, ſo that their Batteries could do no more harm, he made an encloſure of great Beams mortais'd one within another, and nail'd together, to ſtrengthen the compaſs of the Wall & the Ditch it ſelf, which was hollow'd out of the Rock: and ſeeing that ſome part of the Wall was fallen within the Fort, he caus'd the Ruins to be carry'd away for the convenience of the Garriſon. Then becauſe the little Golph that waſh'd

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the West side of the Mole was sometimes so low that it might be waded, he set all hands at work to prevent the Infidels from making their approaches that way. To that end they laid Planks at the bottom of the Water all stuck with Iron Spiks; and then there was a good strong Guard plac'd upon the out Wall on that side of the City; in the Trenches also lay a stout squadron of *French* and *Spanish* Knights, to relieve the Garison in the Tower, upon occasion.

The Grand Master spent all the night a Horse back, and in Arms, stirring continually to keep his men in Breath. The Knights and Souldiers kept their Posts all night, without stirring, but still upon the watch, and ready to fight the Enemy. The Grand Master was also very careful to plant several pieces of Canon all along the Walls of the City that lookked toward the Mole of the Tower, to sink the *Turkish* Gallies that should ride there to favour the assault, He also provided several fire Ships to burn the Enemies Gallies while they

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made the attacque. And in regard all was to be hazarded to save a post, upon which depended the safety of the City, he put himself into the Tower, together with his Brother the Viscount of *Monteile*.

All these Cautions were but little enough; for day no sooner appear'd, but the *Turkish* Gallies weigh'd from before Mount St. *Stevens*, and steer'd directly to the Tower with a fresh gale, with a loud noise of Trumpets and Drums. No sooner were they come near the Rocks of the Fort, but the *Barbarians* leapt a shoar, and while the Gallies play'd from the Sea, they ran to the assault with a fury that look'd more like desperateness, then courage. At the same time, they within discharg'd all their Cannon from the Walls upon the Galleys, and the Musketeers from the Mole gave the Infidels so smart a Volley, that they kill'd most of them upon the place; the rest more furious for the slaughter of the others, and reinforc'd with fresh supplies, in spight of all the shot from the City, fell boldly to the

the *Scalado*. They that defended the Tower, encourag'd by the presence of the Grand Master, and the necessity of vanquishing or perishing, sustain'd the assault with a resolution that astonish'd the Assailants. Never was there perhaps an attacque more obstinate, nor a more stout defence. The *Turks* that fought almost in the air, tumbl'd every foot from the top of the Rocks either dead or wounded, but their rooms were soon fill'd up; so that it seem'd as if they had been still the same people, & that their blows took no effect. *Alexis* of *Tarsus*, one of the most valiant of the *Turks*, was careful to supply the assault with fresh men. He commanded that day in the place of the *Bassha*, who was detain'd sick in the Camp; and his undauntedness gave so much courage to the *Turks*, that they fought all wounded and bloody as they had been savage-beasts, enrag'd at the sight of their blood, and no way concern'd at the fear of death.

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The Butcheries of the *Barbarians* rather redoubl'd then abated the courage of the Knights; who fought like men that had nothing to be good husbands of, but rather sought to kill, then to defend themselves. The Grand Master, who perform'd all the offices of a good Captain, and a private Souldier, had his head-piece struck'n from his head with a stone. But in regard he was neither wounded nor stunn'd with the blow, he took a Hat instead of a Helmet, and continu'd in the heat of the fight with his wonted tranquility; however, he was hit by several Arrows that pierc'd his Armour in several places.

These accidents caus'd the Knights to be very solicitous for their Captain. And the Commander, *Carretta*, seeing many people fall about the Grand Master, besought him earnestly to retire. To whom the Grand Master smiling, reply'd, *You have more to hope for, then I to fear. You will one day reap the fruit of my pains*, added he, by a kind of Prophetical Spirit; as it were foretelling the Commander

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mander, that Heaven had desir'd him to be one day Grand Master of *Rhodes.*

The Vicount of *Monteil* shar'd with his Brother in the travel, and the danger; The artificial Fires, and Cannon-shot that flew continually from the Town, and the perpetual showers of Musquet-bullets, Arrows, and Stones, wrought a most wonderful effect. On the other side, the Fire-ships set fire to several Galleys, and the Arillery of the Garrison so ill entreated the Galleys that defended themselves from the Fire-ships, that the enemies, after they had in a short time lost above seven hunder'd of theirs, were constrain'd to give way. Now, as it is usual to run from one extremity to another, and that nothing is weaker then a Plunatick, when the fitt is over; these men, valiant even to fury, and who boasted to out-brave death, betook themselves to their heels with so much haste, that the most part were drown'd flying.

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So soon as the *Turkish* Galleys were rejoyn'd to the rest of the Fleet that lay before St. *Steven*'s Mount, and that the Tower of St. *Nicholas* was in no more danger, the Grand Master enter'd the City, together with Knights, who had assisted him to drive out the enemy. All the people receiv'd him as their Preserver, with a thousand acclamations, and throng'd after him to the Church of St. *John Baptist*, whither he went to return thanks to God for the Victory he had gain'd; not questioning but that so much happy success was an effect of divine protection.

The vexation of the *Basha* for the ill success of his first enterprize, did not take from him the hope of succeeding in a second. He was perswaded, that by attacquing the City in the weakest part, he should easily repair the loss which he had sustain'd. To which purpose he caus'd eight great pieces of Cannon to be planted against the *Jews* Wall, and threw up several Brest-works for the security of the Infidels. He also lodg'd cer-

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certain pieces of Cannon upon the point of land that enclos'd one of the little Golphs; raising that battery to destroy the Mills that were built all along the Mole, and thunder down the Tower of the Port directly opposite to that point of land.

The Grand Master slept not at all. He knew that the *Jews* Wall could not long resist the *Turks* Cannons, how thick or strong soever it were; and that the only way to save the place, was to entrench himself behind the Wall. For which reason he caus'd several houses to be pull'd down, and a deep Moat to be made, large enough to put a stop to the Infidels, in case they should come to assault the Breaches they should make. He also built up behind the Moat a thick brick-wall with a good Terrass of Earth to sustain it. They labour'd night and day to perfect these works; and the Grand Master himself at the head of the Labourers, was as active as any of the rest, to carry Stones and Lime to advance the work by his presence.

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Rich and Poor, Men, Women, Maids and Religious people, forgetting condition or sex wrought as common Labourers; the very Children did what lay in their power, doing more then the weakness of their age seem'd to permit; apparently incited by something supernatural to the defence of Religion, and their Countrey.

These new Fortifications were hardly finish'd, when the *Turks* began their new Batteries. The Bullets that flew continually, and were of an extraordinary bigness, astonished the Engineers of the City, insomuch that the *German* Engineer confess'd that he never saw any thing like them before. The Sea shoar resounded with most dreadful roarings of the Cannon, the noise whereof was heard above forty Leagues from the Island. But the effect was more terrible then the noise; for besides that those Guns caus'd a kind of Earthquake when they went off, the Batteries beat down all the Wall, and made most dreadful breaches.

Besides

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Beſides the Mortar pieces, which the Enemy had planted round the City, threw up into the Air Stones of a vaſt bigneſs, which falling upon the Tiles of the Houſes, made their entrance in, and kill'd all that ſtood in their way; and the horrible Ruin which they made caus'd a ſad confuſion in the City. The Inhabitants who could be no where ſafe, neither in their Houſes nor in the Streets, bogan to cry out and mutter of ſurrendring; at what time the Grand Maſter bethought himſelf of an expedient which ſtifl'd the ſedition in its infancy, and ſav'd the lives of an infinite company of people. He order'd that the Women, Children, and perſons that were of no uſe, ſhould all retire into the ſpace which was between the Houſes and the Ramparts upon the Weſt ſide, all which ſpaſe he cover'd with a moſt ſubſtantial roof, compos'd of good Rafters joyn'd together, and able to reſiſt the weight of much bigger Stones. The *Turks* who knew not that the Citizens had quitted their houſes, directed

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rected their Engines againſt thoſe places which they thought moſt inhabited; ſo that at laſt thoſe murdrous ſhowres took little effect. The Souldiers and the Knights receiv'd but little harm, whoſe Poſts were like Bulworks; no more then from the Artillery which the Turks plaid from a riſing ground that did but little command the City.

The *Baſha* who thought to have reduc'd the City by the diſcharge of his great pieces, finding that the beſieged ſpoke not a word of Capitulation, yet not willing to hazard the Aſſault, took a ſtrange reſolution to put an end to the Seige. He conſider'd that the perſon of the Grand Maſter was the main obſtacle that hinder'd his taking the Town, and that the Knights would never ſurrender, ſo long as they had ſuch a valiant and expert Commander, ſo that he thought the beſt and ſafeſt way was to make ſure of him. This deſign of his he communicated to two *Renegado's*, who coming to the *Turks* Camp at the beginning of the Siege, had abjur'd

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jur'd the Chriſtian faith, and made a ſhew of much zeal for the *Mahumetan* Sect. The one was a *Dalmatian*, the other of *Albania*. They had both of them acquaintance in *Rhodes*; and the *Albaneſe*, who was a crafty and intelligent perſon, was very well known to one of the Secretaries to the Grand Maſter, an *Italian*, whoſe name was *Philelpho*. The *Renegado's* themſelves immediately offer'd to do the buſineſs, either by ſtab or poiſon. Though the Execution were both difficult and dangerous; but a wicked man may do any thing when he fears nothing.

At the time when the two Aſſaſſinates were preparing to leave the Camp, *Aly Baſha* arriv'd there from *Conſtantinople*. *Mahomet*, who began to be diſturb'd at the Siege, had ſent him expreſly to advertize *Paleologus*, that he would come himſelf with a reinforcement of a hundred thouſand men, and fifteen hundred Cannon of a prodigious bigneſs, Whether the advice were true or falſe the Infidels receiv'd it as an Oracle which aſſur'd

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assur'd them of the victory. For the very name of *Mahomet* fill'd the Camp with joy, and inspir'd new heat into the Souldiers. This produc'd an effect quite contraty in the City. The *Renegado's* who got into the City one after another, that they might not seem to have any acquaintance one with another, were receiv'd as persons ransom'd out of Captivity; having given out that they unfortunately fell into the hands of the *Barbarians* in the second Sally. At their first admittance they reported, that *Mahomet* was coming with a formidable Army, and that all was lost, if they did not come to a Capitulation, before his arrival. Some of the *Italian* Knights who guarded the post on that side, and questionless were not the bravest of their Nation, were affrighted at the news. Some *Spanish* Knights also who took the Alarum upon the same noise joining with the *Italians*, caball'd together, and had private Conferences in the night time, the result whereof was that since they could not save *Rhodes*, they should

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at leaſt ſave the honour of the *Rhodians*, by making an advantageous Compoſition. The *Italians* who were the Captains of the Cabal, diſcover'd their deſign to *Philelpho*, in whom the Grand Maſter repos'd a great truſt; and after they had made him of their party, they engag'd him to repreſent to the Grand Maſter, the neceſſity of yeilding to ſave the Iſland from the utmoſt miſeries of War.

Philelphus was a perſon of Hononour and Sincerity, but one that lov'd his Nation, and had too great an eſteem for his Countrey-men, to think them guilty of any treachery. And therefore believing that the *Italians* meant well, and that acting with the *Spaniards*, they could not take any wrong or injurious courſes, he not only undertook to ſpeak, but acquitted himſelf of his promiſe.

So ſoon as the Grand Maſter underſtood by his Secretary what had paſt, he ſent for the moſt factious before him, ; and diſſembling at firſt his indignation, he told them in ſome-

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what bitter language, that if they so much fear'd *Mahomet*, they should do well to get out of the way: that he gave them free liberty to be gone; and that they should have Galleys for their convenience. But then again, changing his tone, with a stern countenance, *But if you will stay with us*, added he, *never mention composition, and be assur'd, that if you continue your Cabals, I will hang ye up every Mothers Son.*

These words pronounc'd with so much authority, were like a thunder-stroke to the guilty. They acknowledg'd their fault, and seem'd so asham'd and sorry for it, that the Grand Master thought them severely enough punish'd; and thus mixing mildness with severity, and contented with their submissive penitence, he pardon'd them upon the spot. But the Knights, whom the goodness of the Grand Master had absolutely confounded, adjudging themselves unworthy of pardon after so unworthy an action, besought him not to pardon their fault till they had wash'd

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it away with the blood of their enemies, and their own.

All this while the two Traytors laid their plots, and sought all means to execute their design; the *Albanoise*, who knew that *Philelphus*, who was no more entrusted with the knowledg of affairs, since the Cabal of the *Italians*, fail'd not to insinuate to him, that he had now nothing more to hope for in *Rhodes*; that credit with great men once lost, was seldom regain'd. That usually they to whom they had imparted their secrets, became hateful when once suspected: that the hatred of those who could revenge themselves, unpunish'd, is always to be fear'd; and that the safest way, was to suffer himself to be forestall'd.

There needed no more to a person so quick-witted as *Philelpho*, to divine what was aim'd at: He had always look'd upon the *Albanese* as a fellow of no Religion or conscience, and this unexpected return did but augment the bad opinion which he had conceiv'd of him. For which rea-

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reason, he made no question but that this wicked wretch had been gain'd by the Infidels, and that he was return'd to *Rhodes* out of a design to do some mischief: However, the better to inform himself, he made semblance of giving ear to his arguments, and withal, hinted to him that he would be very ready to prevent his enemies, provided he might be well seconded. The Assassinate catching at this bait, frankly disclos'd himself; he declar'd the whole business to *Philelpho*, and having shew'd him the *Basha*'s Letter to hasten the execution, he promis'd him as much as could tempt the ambition or interest of a man.

How great a dread soever *Philelpho* had of so horrible a crime, he consented to it in outward appearance. But so soon as he had taken his leave of him, he went and gave the Grand Master an account of what he had understood. Immediately the *Albanese* was seiz'd upon, who was already applauding himself for the success of his enterprise. He deny'd all

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all at first with that boldness and confidence which is usual with Criminals. But soon after he confest all, touch'd either with remorse of conscience, or forc'd by the violence of his torments. The *Dalmatian*, who was introduc'd into the Grand Master's Palace by another means, and who had already corrupted one of the Officers of his Kitchen, was at the same time apprehended upon the confession of the *Albanese*. They were both executed at a time, and by the people cut in pieces, in abomination of the crime. Thus the Conspiracy fell upon the head of the Conspirators, by a secret conduct of Divine Justice, which oftentimes makes use of the same means to destroy the guilty, which they take to ensnare the innocent. *Philelpho* was receiv'd into the favour of the Grand Master, and found by experience, that Fidelity contributes more then Treason, to the advancement of men.

Paleologus understanding the ill success of his plot, laid aside all other thoughts, but of carrying by force

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what he could not win by treachery. To that purpose he began to raise a plat-form, upon that side where the besieged had made their intrenchments. But so soon as the Grand Master discover'd what the *Basha* intended, he commanded fifty men of the *French* and *Italian* Languages to fight the Labourers, and overturn the work in the night-time. The party commanded descended into the Moat through the casemates so privately in the night, and gain'd the upper ground so privately with their ladders, that the *Turks* never perceiv'd them till they were just upon them. Which put the Infidels into such disorder, that they presently fled; the most part saving themselves by flight. The mutinous *Italians*, who were of the number of the fifty, and fought nothing more then to repair their honour, were the most forward to pursue them that fled; of which they kill'd ten with their own hands, and returning, demolish'd the work, and nail'd their Cannon.

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The *Basha* was surpriz'd at so resolute an action: and being inform'd that they were the *French* and *Italians* who had perform'd it, he could not forbear saying, that he had to do with people that inherited the courage of *Cæsar* and *Charlemain*. So much does true valour charm ev'n enemies themselves, how barbarous soever.

The Grand Master did not think it enough to applaud the Victors, but gave them rewards: And to satisfy to the *Italians*, that he had no more ill thoughts of them; he exprest himself publickly, that they were persons of Honour, and had kept their word.

The bad success which the *Turks* had upon this encounter, made them give over all thoughts of attacquing the City upon the *Italian* Post: And therefore they resum'd their old design, and bent all their force against the Tower of St. *Nicholas*. Not only because that being almost ruin'd they thought it might be the more easily taken, but because they ima-

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gin that there lay the decision of the Victory.

To that effect, the General of the *Barbarians* undertook to build a Woodd'n-Bridg that would hold six men a brest, which should reach from the Church of St. *Antony* to the foot of the Tower. They wrought without ceasing in the presence of the *Basha*, who assisted at the work himself. So soon as the Bridg was finish'd, a *Turk* having in the night secretly fasten'd an Anchor to the Rock of the Tower it self with a chain of Iron, thrust a Cable through the ring of the Anchor, to which the end of the Bridg was link'd; so, by drawing the Cable by strength of arm, the Bridg, by degrees, might be hal'd to the very point of the Mole of St. *Nicholas*.

But the cunning of the *Turks* could not deceive the vigilance of the *Rhodians*. An English Marener, whose name was *Roger*, a bold and daring fellow, who discover'd what had past, threw himself into the Sea, when the *Turk* was retir'd; and when he had cunning-

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cunningly unfaſten'd the Anchor, he left the chain upon the Rock, as if it had ſtill held: for which, the Grand Maſter immediately gave him two hunder'd Crowns in Gold. When the *Turks* began to draw the Cable, to move the Bridg forward, they ſoon perceiv'd that their ſtratagem was diſcover'd, and that the *Rhodians* were more ſubtil then they, though they were not altogether diſhearten'd. For *Paleologus*, who manag'd the enterprize himſelf, and had a wit fertil for invention, ſent for a great number of Barques to bear the Bridg upon the water, and to tranſport it inſenſibly to the Mole, as the Barques mov'd forwards. In the mean time he order'd, as well to attaque the Tower, as batter the Veſſels that lay in the Port, thirty Galleys, beſides ſeveral light Veſſels, wherein he had put the choiceſt men in his Army, and who were to begin the aſſault, while the Souldiers landed.

The Grand Maſter omitted nothing that lay in his power. He ſet a thouſand Pioneers at work, who labour'd day

day and night in cutting the Rock, to make the Moat wider, and deeper. After he had reinforc'd the Garrison with such Forces, as the *Escalle* had brought from *Verona* at the beginning of the Siege, he posted at the foot of the Mole a Squadron of *Spanish* and *German* Knights, to be succour'd from thence as occasion requir'd. But as he had reason to suspect lest one part of the enemy should attacque the City, while the other assaulted St. *Nicholas's* Fort, and that the *Jews* Wall would be the place, where their Cannon had already made several breaches; he sent thither a good number of Souldiers under the Conduct of the Knights *de Northolon*, with order not to sally without express command. After that he prescrib'd to every one his particular duty in the Fort, yet doing nothing without mature deliberation and counsel. For he heard advice with calmness, and a quick apprehension, being perswaded that the most judicious do not see every thing, and that the wisest often mistake, when too much

much wedded to their own judgment.

That courtesy and affability which he shew'd to all the World, allow'd not only to the Knights, but also to the meanest Souldiers, the liberty of speaking their thoughts upon all occasions that presented themselves. He took delight to hear them, and sometimes he found in the discourse of a simple Souldier such expedients and stratagems, which perhaps he might not have thought of. Yet with all this lenity he was severe enough, when it behov'd him so to be. For two Souldiers of the Garrison of the Fort, having resolv'd to run away to the *Turks*, threw a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition into the Sea. They were taken in the act, and asham'd of themselves when they were discover'd. They also cray'd pardon of the Grand Master, and threw themselves at his feet, very penitent for what they had done. But notwithstanding all their prayers and entreaties, and all their penitence, he caus'd them to be hang'd out at the windows of the Tower,

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and their bodies to be cast into the Sea.

The enemy was so much perplex'd that he had attacqu'd the Tower in the open day, that he resolv'd not to attacque it any more but by night. They also made their approaches very silently, contrary to their customs: But having gain'd the Mole, and being landed, they presently open'd their throats. The choice party of the *Turks* assail'd the Tower where it was most ruin'd, making a most hideous noise, which was follow'd with the sound of Trumpets and other Warlike Instruments.

The Christians, who were all upon their Guards, and expected their enemies with an undaunted resolution, vigorously sustain'd the Shock. They fought on both sides with an equal ardor, without any other light, then that of the Granado's and Fire-pots, that flew continually from side to side; so that there was a great slaughter in a short time.

In the mean time the Galleys being come up close to the Rock, and the Wood'n

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Wood'n bridg being fix'd to the point of the Rock, by the assistance of the Barks, a multitude almost innumerable of the *Turks* gave the assault on that sight where the Gross of the Wall was fall'n down. The discharges that were made so thick upon them, brake their first effort, and threw headlong a good number of them that were already got up. The rest were repuls'd by the Knights that defended that part; and there it was to be seen, how sometimes valour might prevail against number. The Grand Master who was every where, encourag'd the Knights, and confidently assur'd them of victory provided they themselves would but do their best to overcome.

While the heat of the Combat encreas'd, the Batteries which the Grand Master had planted against the bridg, took that effect as was expected. For the Bridg was cut in pieces at the same time when a reinforcement of Souldiers was upon it; who all perish'd miserably, being neither to be reliev'd by the Barks, nor able to save themselves

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ſelves by ſwimming, under a Shower of Stones and Arrows that follow'd the diſcharges of the Artillery.

The Enemies Galleys ceas'd not to batter the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and to tire the Knights. But they reſum'd new vigour when they perceiv'd that the Bridg was broken, and that the Aſſailents could no longer be that way reliev'd, and that which more encreas'd their reſolution was, that the Artillery of the Tower had ſunk four Galleys with ſeveral Ships of War; and that the Fire-Ships ſent againſt the reſt, had diſmay'd and diſorder'd the whole Fleet.

This However did not hinder the Infidels from being obſtinate in their aſſault; for deſpair ſometimes inſtead of abating, raiſes courage. Both ſides fell on again without remorſe, and the Combat which had already dilaſted three hours, began again with more violence then ever. The day which ſoon after appear'd did but ſerve to irretate the Combatants, while it diſcover'd the Maſſacre in the Night. The ſight of ſo many

Bodies

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Bodies ſtretch'd upon the Earth, or floting upon the Sea, with the ruines of the Bridg and Gallies inuited the Infidels to repair their Honour, and the Chriſtians to maintain their advantages. Both ſides perform'd as much as men of Bravery could act upon ſuch occaſions; the loſs was great upon the *Turks* ſide, and their moſt conſiderable Commanders lay dead upon the place; among the reſt, *Mahomets* Son-in-law, a young Prince, very valiant and very dear to the Grand Signior. He ſtood a long time firm upon the ruins of the Tower, and kill'd ſeveral Knights with his own hand, fortifying himſelf with heaps of dead bodies. But having receiv'd ſeveral wounds, he fell as he was making a blow with his Scimitar, and expir'd in a moment after. The death of *Ibrahim* allay'd the heat of the *Barbarians*; they gave ground, mauger all the reſolution of their General, who exhorted them to revenge the death of the Grand Signior, and with his own hand kill'd ſome of thoſe that recoil'd. But the Knights re-

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repell'd, and forc'd them at length to retire. This dishonourable retreat put *Paleologus* into a profound fit of sadness. When he was return'd to his Camp, he shut himself up, and there kept himself three whole days together without giving audience to any person; either to conceal his grief, or to meditate at leisure what farther course to take.

Now in regard the *Turks* had lost above two thousand five hundred men in these assaults; because the dead bodies, which either cover'd the Earth, or else were wash'd upon the Shoar by the Sea, were enough to corrupt the Air, the Grand Master caus'd all the shoar to be cleans'd, with a particular care of his own Souldiers. And after he had caus'd the Bodies to be enterr'd with all the honour that the present state of affairs would permit. He himself look'd after the dressing of the Wounded; he visited them every foot, and distributed among them with his own hands the rich spoils of the slain. And indeed the lying still of the Enemy, while their General

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General lock'd himself up, gave the Grand Master leisure to attend these particular duties of a Great Commander.

At length the *Basha* appear'd abroad, and forgetting in some measure the dishonour which had occasion'd his recess, he resum'd his usual heat and fury. However he laid aside all thoughts of attempting any thing upon St. *Nicholas* Tower, which now he began to think impregnable, bending his whole design to reduce the City, by dividing the Forces of the besieged, believing he should accomplish his work, by assaying it in several quarters at once. He perswaded himself, that when the Walls should be ruin'd in other places, as they were in the *Jews* quarter, and the *Italian* Post, that by a general assault, he should not fail to enter the place; and that the besieged would be constrain'd to surrender, when they were no longer able to resist. Moreover he made no question, but that the *German* Engineer, upon whom he still depended, would at length find

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a way to ſerve him, wherein lay the chiefeſt of his hopes.

Thereupon by his order, the beſt Pieces of Artillery were planted round about the City; and while they thunder'd upon the Walls, the *Turks*, animated by the preſence of their General, on the one ſide ſet themſelves to undermine their way through the Earth, to make themſelves Trenches cover'd with Planks and Bavins to bring their men ſecurely into the Moat. Then they rais'd Plat-forms ſupported with Hurdles and Boughs of Trees and palliſado'd round, upon which they planted *Culverins* and other ſmall ſhot equal with the VValls and Baſtions of the City, which fire without ceaſing.

But in regard they deſign'd to give the aſſault principally upon the *Jews* VVall, where the Batteries had done moſt miſchief, after they got into the Moat by ſuch paſſages as they had min'd under ground, they endeavour'd, by means of the noiſe and ſmoak which hinder'd the beſieged from hearing or ſeeing them, to fill

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up the Moat with the Rubbish which the Cannon had loosen'd from the Wall, which being thrown together by hazard, made a kind of a slope ascent. In this they labour'd with so much vigor, and success, that notwithstanding all the firing from the City, that in a short time the Moat was fill'd up almost as high as the Ravelin on Bastion of the *Jews*, so that they might easily get up to the Wall.

The Grand Master, who husbanded his men against the Assault, finding that the principal Batteries of the City did little good, and that the Enemies advanc'd every day without receiving any great damnage, caus'd an extraordinary Engine to play, which was made to cast Stones of great weight at a great distance, which Engine was call'd the Tribute, because it was made in the time that *Mahomet* demanded a Tribute from the Knights. This Engine plac'd just opposite to the *Turks* place of working, wrought wonderful effects. For the huge pieces of Marble which it threw with an unspeakable violence, not only crush'd to pieces the

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Work-men upon the Tetrasles, but in several places broke into their Mines, and their cover'd Trenches, so that an infinite number of *Turks* were stifl'd in the Earth, and buried in the Ruins of their own works.

The *Rhodians* shouted every time the Engin play'd, and when they saw the Stones fly, they cry'd, *that was* Mahomet's *Tribute.* The Grand Master took the cheerfulness of his Souldiers, for a good Omen: And though he were not a little troubl'd at the last advance of the Enemy, yet by his familiarity with the Souldiery, he engag'd them to cleanse the Moat which the Turk had fill'd up, and to mine a way under the Walls to get in, that they might not expose themselves to the Shot of the Enemy.

The Souldiers in that good humour cheerfully obey'd the Grand Master; they min'd a hole into the Moat, and by degrees drew in all the Stones into the City, together with the other Rubbish that had fill'd up the Moat; the Grand Master being present all this while to encourage the Labourers. And finding that part

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of the *Jews* Walls where the Enemies Cannon had plaid hotteſt, was ready to fall, he terraſs'd it with all ſpeed, and rais'd a new Wall to ſupport the Earth which was not well ſettl'd.

To this part the Grand Maſter order'd great Fats of Flint Stones, and old pieces of Iron, Sacks of Sulphur, and Powder, Caldrons of boiling Oil, and whatever was proper to ſtop the fury of the *Turks* when they gave the aſſault. But beſides all this, he was deſirous to know of the *German* Engineer, what other Invention he could think of to repel the Enemy, or what new work was to be rais'd ſhould they force the Defences which were already rais'd. The *German* ſeem'd ſurpriz'd to hear himſelf ask'd ſo many queſtions, and coldly anſwer'd, that he would conſider of it, and that for the ſecurity of the place, it was requiſite he ſhould make uſe of all the Secrets of his Art. But as he was already ſuſpected, and for that a Battery which he had already rais'd in the preſence of the Grand Maſter, had tak'n no effect, ſuſpitions began to ariſe that he did not act

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Cordially. But that which more encreas'd those mistrusts was, that, the *Turks* us'd several designs to discredit him in the City. They shot in Arrows with Letters fix'd to them, wherein they wrote that the *German* Engineer was a person not to be trusted; that he was a Villain, full of ill designs, believing that the hatred which they testifi'd against him would make him the more credited by the *Rhodians*.

The Grand Master not questioning but that the advice was as true, as the intention of the *Turks* was that it should be accounted false, deliver'd him up to the hands of Justice. At length, as conscience often urgeth Criminals to speak against themselves, he confess'd all; he declar'd that he came not into *Rhodes*, but to endeavour how he might deliver the Town up to the Infidels; that he came, by the expres's order of *Mahomet*, to observe the condition and estate of the City, and to return to him with a full account thereof, in case the *Turkish* Army should be

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forc'd to raise the Siege. He added, that this had not been the first City which he had betray'd in this manner, and that his conscience accus'd him for the murther of an infinite number of Christians. These confessions were enough for his condemnation, without any other evidence, so that he was hang'd in the publick Market-place of the City. This execution was soon spread in the Camp of the *Turks*; for the Grand Master inform'd them himself by Arrows shot over the Wall, after their example. Which he did, the rather to let them understand how ill success their Spies had at *Rhodes*, and that he had follow'd the *Turks* advice.

It is not to be believ'd how extremely the *Bassha* was afflicted for the death of this Traytor. He had almost no other hopes left but in him since his last misfortune; for he was half assur'd, that the intreagues of a wit so crafty as his, could not fail him at last. However, he would not suffer himself to be altogether dishearten'd, though before he resolv'd

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upon a general assault, he was resolv'd to try the most gentle means he could.

To this purpose, after he had shot in several Letters into the City, aggravating, and extolling the power of the *Ottoman* Empire; he advertiz'd the people, that the Grand Signior intended no ill to the *Rhodians*; that he had only made the War to deliver them from an unjust and tyrannical Government; that being *Greeks*, they ought naturally to obey the Emperor of the *Rhodians*, and that they would never be at quiet so long as they continu'd enemies to the *Ottoman* Court. He promis'd them, if they would surrender, not only their lives and liberties, but also all sorts of Immunities and Honours. At length he declar'd to them, that if they refus'd such advantageous proffers, they must expect to be all put to the Sword. That the Invincible *Mahomet* was resolv'd to drain his Empire of all its Forces, to take *Rhodes*; that he was marching thither with all speed; and that there would

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would be no capitulations thought of when his Highneſs arriv'd.

This Letter wrought no impreſſion upon their reſolutions. The wiſer ſort laugh'd at them; the meaneſt capacities took them only for pieces of craft and falſity. They all contemn'd and ſcorn'd the change which he propos'd; and ſo far they were from dreaming of a ſubmiſſion to the Grand Signior, that they made new proteſtations of fidelity to the Grand Maſter: So that nothing more contributed to retain the Prince in their obedience, and to redouble their affection to their lawful Prince, then the ſubtilty which was us'd to corrupt and gain them to a revolt.

The *Baſha* finding no effect of his Letters, to which they would not ſo much as vouchſafe an anſwer, took another way to obtain an anſwer. A renagate *Greek* preſented himſelf that night, by his order, before the Walls of the City; and calling to the Centinels with a loud voice, he told the Knights that appear'd, that the General of the *Ottoman* Army was de-

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desirous to send an Embassador to the *Ottoman* Army, provided he might have the liberty to go and come with safety. Answer was return'd to the *Renegado*, that the law of Nations was inviolably observ'd at *Rhodes*; that the Embassadors had no reason to fear any thing, and that he might come to the *Jews* Moat; and that he should find in the Bulwark of the Tower, a Knight, that should return him an answer in the name of the Grand Master.

An ancient *Bey*, whose name was *Solyman*, appear'd the next morning just against the Bulwark. He was a prudent man, and besides his experience, had excellent natural parts. After he had civilly saluted the Knight, who was deputed by the Grand Master to give him audience, he began to tell him, that the *Basha*, *Paleologus*, wonder'd, that being so much straiten'd, and not receiving any relief, they should still so obstinately defend themselves. He added, that for his part, he wonder'd that persons so wise as they, should so per-

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tinaciously seek their own ruine. That they ought to remember *Constantinople*, *Trebisond*, *Negropont*, *Metelin*, and others, far stronger places then *Rhodes*, which could not hold out against *Mahomet*; that Prudence ought to regulate Valour: and that it was a folly to pretend to resist the Conqueror of two Empires, twelve Kingdoms, and three hunder'd Cities. True it was, that it was an honour for him to defend his Countrey; but that it was better for him to preserve it entire, by submitting to the stranger, then to ruine himself out of a blind and unadvised ingenuity; and therefore it was but common prudence for him to agree with *Mahomet*: That his Favourite, *Misach Paleologus*, offer'd to manage the accommodation himself, and so to order it, that they should have no reason to complain; and lastly, that it was the only means to save their Reputation and Estates. He concluded his Harang in a lively and perswasive manner, conjuring him to have pitty upon the people, and not to be

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the causes of the massacre of so many poor creatures, the dishonour of their Daughters and Wives, and the succage of the whole Island.

The Grand-Master being inform'd of *Solyman*'s propositions, did no less wonder at the *Basha*'s Embassador, then the *Basha* wonder'd at their resistance. That they could not apprehend that he had any compassion or tenderness for them, which he endeavour'd to destroy by all means imaginable. That Peace was not treated on with sword and poison; and that the treasons discover'd, made them suspicious of new ones: That they very well remember'd that *Trebisond*, *Constantinople*, *Negropont*, and so many other Towns, could not resist the power of *Mahomet*; but they remember'd as well, that he was a Conqueror that seldom kept his word; and that contrary to the publick Faith given, he had put to death *David Commenius*, with all his children, not to speak of the Princes of *Bosnia* and *Metelin*.

The

The Knight, who spoke in the name of the Grand Master, added haughtily, that the *Soldan* of *Egypt* and *Babilon*, no less potent then the Emperor of the *Turks*, had often attempted *Rhodes*, without getting any thing but shame; that the *Rhodians* hop'd that their entrenchments would prove the tombs of the *Ottoman* Army; and that they would rather perish in the ruines of their own Countrey then, then deliver it up to the enemies of the Christian Faith. And lastly, that neither the threats nor promises of *Mahomet* were sufficient to force them to any thing which might either be against their profession, or blast their honour. After this, the Knight added, that when the Army of the Infidels was return'd to *Constantinople*, the Emperor might send an Embassador to *Rhodes*, and that then the Grand Master would consider what was most honourable and advantageous for the Order; but that so long as such an Army remain'd about the City, he could not hark'n to Peace. That the *Ottoman* Troops

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Troops might do like declar'd Enemies, but that for his part, he hop'd by the assistance of Heaven to let his General know that the Knights of *Rhodes* were not so soon conquer'd as other Nations.

This generous and haughty answer quite disappointed all the *Basha*'s designs. Shame, Honour, Despair, Fury rais'd in his Soul those Opposite motions, as almost put him besides himself. Fury at length got the upper hand, and the *Barbarian* abandoning himself to all the thoughts that rage could inspire, after he had excited his Souldiers to punish the pride of those that brav'd the soveraign power of the *Ottomans*, he commanded all the Engines to be set at work, and that they should batter the City night and day without ceasing. Never were orders better executed; for the *Turks* enliven'd by the fury of the *Basha*, and transported at the same time with a desire of Victory and revenge, in a small time made above three thousand five hundred Shot, which brought the Towers

Towers and Walls almost down to the Ground. Yet neither did this affright the *Rhodians*. For the Grand Master went up and down to hearten the Inhabitants and encourage the Souldiers. His confidence in God increas'd his natural Constancy, and spread in his Countenance a serene Air, which prov'd a happy success.

When he thought the Enemy was ready to give the assault, he plac'd at the most dangerous place, strong Squadrons of Cavalry, under the most skilful Commanders which he chose himself. He retain'd near his own person the *French* Gentlemen who had follow'd the Count of *Monteil* to *Rhodes*; and plac'd himself with them near the Jews quarter; from whence he might relieve all parts as need requir'd. But because he repos'd all his hopes in the protection of Heaven, he first went and prostrated himself at the feet of the Altars, recommending to God the safety of *Rhodes*, and commanding prayers to be continually said in all the Churches of the City.

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In the mean time the *Bassha* encourag'd by the Havock which his Artillery had made, after he had flatter'd his men with their Martial vertue, and had perswaded them that they had nothing more now to take then Ruines without defence, he openly declar'd to them that they should freely have the pillage of the Town. He commanded them to put all to the Sword, except the young Infants, whom he permitted them to preserve either for their own benefit, or the Grand Signiors Militia. He ordain'd also that all the men that should escape the Sword of the Musselmen, should be empal'd, to which purpose he set upright a thousand Stakes in the Field.

The *Turks* reviv'd anew by this apparent facility of the enterprize, and the hope of plunder, with impatience expected the hour of assault with their Arms in their hands, and Chains about their wasts, to bind those that they should not kill. Nor could the *Bassha* hardly retain them one day more, that he shot continually at the Town to level the Fortifications of the Besieged.

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At length the 27*th* of *July*, he gave the signal just at break of day, by the shooting of a Mortar piece. Immediately the *Ottoman* Army ran furiously on, invoking the name of their false Prophet, and assail'd the City on every side with most dreadful shouts and yells, that made all the Sea-shoar, and all the Hills to ring again. Nevertheless the main onset was giv'n to the *Jews* Wall, where the Ruines, which had fill'd up the Ditch again, made the way easy. Then an innumerable multitude mounted the Walls, and fell on with that fury, that the Christians who kept the Walls, were quite overlaid with number, and almost all slain. The Turks puft up with this success, drove back the rest, and set up seven of their colours upon the walls, before the Christians could get up upon a slope, made with the Ruins of the Wall on their side. The Knights and Souldiers that first ascended fell upon the *Turks* with such a fury that they forc'd them to retire. But the *Turks* being presently reinforc'd, both parties disputed a long

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time for the Wall; they on both sides with great heat and courage. But when the Combat grew hot, and that the victory seem'd to encline to the Infidels, the Count of *Monterl* came into the assistance of the Christians; but notwithstanding all the effects of their valour, they could not drive back their Enemies, whom the presence of the *Bashaw* made undaunted, and not being able to withstand so great a number as fell upon them.

In the mean time the report which was spread that the Enemy had carry'd the *Jews* Quarter, struck terror and confusion every where. But so soon as the Grand Master saw this beginning of a Rout, with a half pike in his hand, he mounted the Wall, having already kill'd some that were got down, and considering that the loss of all depended upon this post, he resolv'd to hazard all, or regain it. The old Commanders and young Knights that were near to his person, mounted after; at what time the Grand Master breaking into a thick Bat-

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Battalion of the *Turks*, with an astonishing fury, charg'd them so rudely, that they were soon clear'd off.

No sooner was it known to what danger the Grand Master had expos'd himself, but the Burgesses of the Town ran with all speed to disingage him, or to dye with him. The Women also who were for the most part habited in mens apparel, appear'd upon the Ramparts to terrify the Assailants, follow'd their husbands, and pouring down scalding Oil, Flints, and old Iron upon the *Turks*; while others were so hardy as to throw Wild-fire, and others to take up the Arms of the Slain, and fight in their steads they did very good service. On the other side the Archers which the Grand Master had plac'd in such parts of the Wall which the Cannon had a little spar'd; shot continually upon those that came with fresh recruits.

The *Barbarians* fell in great heaps every where, yet dearly selling their lives, but more especially making a great slaughter about the Grand Master. But the present Image of death re-

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redoubl'd his zeal, and no way diminish'd his valour. *Let us dye, my dear Brethren*, said he, *rather then retire, 'tis for the faith, 'tis for heaven that we fight, our death shall be honour'd among men, and precious in the sight of God.* His example, and his words, so encourag'd the Souldiers, that mauger the obstinate resistance of the enemy, they regain'd the Field, and made themselves absolute Masters of it, after a dispute of two hours. The Knight *de Monthoion*, being the first that tore up the *Ottoman* Banners, and flung them to the ground.

As much affrighted as the *Barbarians* seem'd, and as much wearied as they were indeed, shame or honour caus'd them to return to the Charge; and the *Basha* drew out a Body of old *Janizaries* to second the assault. Now, in regard the Grand Master was known by his gilded Arms, and the throng of remarkable persons that environ'd him; the *Basha* commanded that they should pick him out particularly. These fresh

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freſh men threw themſelves, like beaſts of prey, upon the Chriſtians; & having forc'd their way through the Pikes and Swords, were making directly to the Grand Maſter, if the Vicount of *Monteil*, who ſaw them coming, had not put a ſtop to them; who flew upon them with the moſt valiant of the *Auvernian* Poſt: In the mean time ten or twelve of the boldeſt of the *Turks* joyning with thoſe that were at handy-ſtrokes with the Grand Maſter, they laid at him with ſeveral blows; ſo that his arms being broken, he receiv'd five wounds: however, he fought ſtill very valiantly. But the Knights perceiving he was wounded, fell on ſo furiouſly, that the enemy firſt began to give ground; and laſtly, to betake them to their heels.

As for the *Turks* who were got upon the Poſts of the other Languages, where they found equal reſiſtance; ſo ſoon as they ſaw the *Jews* Wall forſaken, they quitted their attaques, and fled in the greateſt diſorder in the World: except three

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hunder'd of the ſtouteſt, who ſtaid upon the Walls, and being no longer able to defend themſelves, fell half dead into the City, where they were maſſacred by the people.

At the ſame time the *Rhodians* iſſu'd out after them in throngs, and purſu'd them to their very Camp, making a moſt fatal ſlaughter among them. The *Turks* alſo kill'd one another to make room for themſelves; ſo much they dreaded to fall into the hands of the Chriſtians. The *Baſha* did all he could by threats and promiſes to ſtay their flight; their fear would not let them take notice of either, and he was at length conſtrain'd to fly to the ſhore, that he might be near his Galleys.

Khodgia Afendy, who has wrote in the *Turkiſh* Language the Siege of *Rhodes*, attributes the rout of the Infidels to the avarice of their General: For he ſays, that the Souldiers, more covetous of booty then blood, being ready to enter the Town, and preparing themſelves to plunder, where they hop'd to find great riches;

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the *Basha*, to preserve the whole for himself, caus'd proclamation to be made, that the treasure of *Rhodes* was the demeans of the *Ottoman* Court, and that the generous *Mussulmen* were to seek nothing more in fight then the honour of serving the Emperor; however, he would not fail to recompence those that should do their duty, as he would punish those that should take the least rag. The Historian adds, that this Proclamation so cool'd the courage of the Souldiers, that they thought of nothing after that, but how to save their lives. But we may easily conjecture, by the examination of his words, that he does not speak truth according to the manner of the *Turks*, who make no scruple of lying, when it is either to excuse and cover the cowardice, or dishonour of their Nation. For it has been the custom of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and their *Basha's*, always to abandon such Towns as were taken by assault to the plunder of the Souldiers: So that it is not likely that *Paleologus*, who us'd all the means

he could, to make himself Master of the place; and who was naturally magnificent, should of a sudden take to a course so contrary to his design and humour.

In the mean time the Grand Master, who felt himself very much weaken'd by his wounds, return'd into the City all bloody; after whom follow'd the victorious Knights with the Imperial Standard, which they had tak'n from before the Pavilion of the *Basha*: but the condition of their Prince put them into such a consternation, that they could not rejoyce for their Victory. One of his wounds was accounted mortal, and the second day they began to despair of his life.

So soon as the *Basha* had recover'd the Sea-shore with the remains of his Army, he never stood to consult whether he should raise the Siege or no. Whatever confidence he had had till then, in the fortune of *Mahomet* and his own, he despair'd to take the place after so many vain assults; and understanding that he had lost above nine

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nine thouſand men ſlain out-right, and above fifteen thouſand wounded, which were not in the fight; he took care of nothing more then how to ſave the reſt by retiring.

While the *Turks* were embarquing their Engines of War, and all their Baggage, there appear'd two great Ships, which *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, had ſent to the relief of *Rhodes*. *Paleologus*, who ſaw them making to the Port with full ſail, conſidering what a ſhame it would be to let them enter the Port, ſhot at them with ſuch pieces of Artillery, as were not embarqu'd; not being able to aſſault them with his Galleys, becauſe the winds were contrary. The ſhot brought one of the Maſts of one of the Ships by the board, but did the other no harm. But the wind changeing, and the Sea growing rough of a ſudden, they both came to an Anchor juſt againſt the Port, till the tempeſt forc'd them to make all the ſail they could to get in. The Ship, whoſe Maſt was broken, was the more fortunate, and ſteer'd ſo well, that ſhe eaſily

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got in. The other being carri'd off by ſtorm, fell back into the road; ſo that ſhe was the next day very near the Infidels Fleet. The *Baſha*, unwilling to let go a prize that he thought in his hands, ſent out twenty Galleys to ſeize her; and commanded the Captain of the Galleys to go himſelf. The Chriſtians prepare themſelves for fight. The twenty Galleys ſurround the Veſſel, and thunder upon her on every ſide; and by an incredible kindneſs of divine protection, did them much more miſchief then ſhe receiv'd her ſelf. However, ſome that were beſt mann'd fetch'd her up by the ſtrength of their oars; and having grappl'd her, a whole throng of *Barbarians* endeavour'd to enter upon all her quarters. But the *Spaniards* and *Italians* kept their ground with ſo much reſolution, that after a bloody Fight of three hours, the *Turks* were conſtrain'd to give way: and the death of the General of the Galleys ſo abated their courage, that they wholly forſook the Veſſel.

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Then it was, that *Misach Paleologus*, being out of all hope, and fearing all the worst of fortune, gave order to weigh Anchor, and be gone. And that which hasted his departure, was, that he understood by his Spies, that the Christians expected a very considerable relief, and that the Vessels of *Ferdinand* were but the fore-runners of the Christian Prince's Fleet. So that the *Ottoman* Fleet put out to Sea the 18*th* of *August*, and steer'd toward the Port of *Fisco*; where having set the Army a-shore, they continu'd their course toward *Constantinople*.

The Victorious Ship enter'd the Port of *Rhodes* almost at the same that the *Ottoman* Fleet set sail. And now it is no difficult thing to apprehend the joy of the *Rhodians*, to see themselves so well deliver'd, after a siege of sixty days. The whole Port resounded with shouts of gladness: and the noise of the Bells, mix'd with that of the Trumpets, made a pleasing harmony, which proclaim'd the raising of the Siege to all the people of

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of the Island. But that which most contributes to the publick rejoycing, was, that the Grand Master began to recover; whether the Chirurgeons were deceiv'd in their judgments, or that the wound, which they deem'd to be mortal, were not so indeed; or whether there were something divine and miraculous in the cure. However, in that languishing estate, wherein as yet he continu'd, he commanded solemn Processions to be made for three days; and that Masses should be said in all the Churches of the City, for the souls of the Knights and Souldiers that had been slain during the Siege.

So soon as he was cur'd of his wounds, and that he had strength enough to walk, he went himself to return thanks to God at the feet of the Altars. And because he was perswaded that the protection of the Virgin had sav'd *Rhodes*, he made a Vow to build a magnificent Church, by the name of St. *Maries* of the Victory, neer the *Jews* Wall, where the *Turks* were put to the rout. Nor did

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did he delay the execution of his vows; for being somewhat better settl'd in his health, he caus'd himself to be carri'd to the place, and order'd the foundations to be laid in his presence. They labour'd might and main at this great work, so soon as the fortifications of the Town were repair'd. And because the Victory was won upon the day wherein the *Greeks* solemnize the Festival of St. *Pantaleon*, the Grand Master built a sumptuous Chappel for the exercise of the *Grecian* Ceremonies, in honour of that holy Martyr; to the end that the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, celebrating at the same time the holy Mysteries, they might return thanks both together, in both Churches, for so renown'd a Victory.

Nor was his devotion enclos'd within the Walls of *Rhodes*. He founded a perpetual Mass every week at the great Altar of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*; to preserve until the end of time, the memory of so happy a success, and in some measure to make an

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an immortal acknowledgment thereof, in the same place where the Order of St. *John* had its first Institution.

But because, that having implor'd the aid of St. *John Baptist*, when he sally'd to the Combat, he found in his Souldiers, and in himself, a new courage, which could not spring but from above; he resolv'd to build a Church in *Italy*, in Honour of the happy Precursor, whose body *Julian* the Apostate caus'd to be burnt, and whose precious ashes lye in the Cathedral Church of St. *Lawrence* at *Genoa*.

This Structure time brought to perfection; and it was built neer to the Chappel, where those holy Reliques are expos'd to the veneration of the people. To which, that he might do the greater Honour, he also built a Convent neer to the said Chappel, for twelve religious persons of the Order, to sing Divine Service, to say Masses for the propagation of the Faith, for the Benefactors of the Order, and the Souls of the Grand Ma-

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Masters deceas'd: to which end he employ'd the Revenue of several Commanderies, and his own, according to the power which he had receiv'd from the See of *Rome*.

He wrote at the same time to the Princes of Christendom, to give them advice of the Victory, and to engage them to send him relief, in case the *Turks* should make any new attempts, and that the Knights should be constrain'd to hold out another Siege. But because that *Ferdinand*'s Ships had brought him a Brief from *Sixtus*, which Brief contain'd such expressions, as testifi'd how much the Pope did interest himself in the affairs of *Rhodes*, he sent to *Rome* the Prior of *Capua*, and the Commander of *Aliaga*, with the Title of Embassadors Extraordinary. He charg'd them also in their way, to wait upon the King of *Naples*, and to tell him how much the Knights were oblig'd to him for his aid. That in his own particular, he highly acknowledg'd his Favour; and

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and as long as he liv'd, should seek all occasions to testify his gratitude. Nor was the Grand Master thus contented to declare his obligations to *Ferdinand*; he also gave substantial marks of it to *Lewis Palafox*, a Gentleman of *Aragon*, and Captain of the Ship, which had so valiantly defended the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, and the *Jews* Wall. For besides that, he presented him with a Diamond of a very great price; and made his natural Son a Knight, as being a young Gentleman of great hopes and merit. He permitted him to carry in chief, above the Arms of his Family, the Arms of the Order, as an authentick proof of the Services which he and his had done, during the Siege.

He also granted other considerable Favours both to the Knights and Souldiers, which had most signaliz'd themselves: And because the Countrey was utterly laid wast; and for that the miseries of the people were not ended with the War,

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War, he caus'd Corn to be diſtributed to the Iſlanders in great plenty; and diſcharg'd them for ſeveral years of all ſorts of Taxes.

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THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Fourth.

THE *Ottoman* Fleet carri'd the news of their own misfortune home themſelves to *Conſtantinople*. And *Mahomet* was as deeply ſenſible of this misfortune, as a wiſe and ambitious Prince poſſibly could be, who had not proſper'd in an honourable Enterprize, which he undertook not

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but upon great consideration. Though he were a great Master of himself, and one that could dissemble his particular anguish of mind; yet upon the sight of the principal Captains of the Army, and in that transportment, he was about to have put them all to death. The *Basha*, *Misach Paleogo*, his favourite, presum'd to tell him with that freedom which his favour allow'd him, that they had nothing to accuse him either for his conduct or his courage; and that the *Mussul-men* had done as much as men could do. He was glad to tell him withal, that the Knights of *Rhodes* were men of an extraordinary valour; and that there appear'd in the Air a bright shining Troop, whose blows neither the *Turks* could shun, nor abide their looks. But all these reasons gave the Grand Signior no satisfaction. He drove his Favourite out of his sight, and was so far from giving him the Vest of Honour, which he was wont to bestow upon his Generals and Visiers, at their returns from military Expeditions, that he com-

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commanded him to retire to the *Sangiacatship* of *Gallipoli*. Nor indeed had *Mahomet* any other way to cheer up himself for this misfortune, but by believing that the conquest of *Rhodes* was reserv'd to him alone, and that it belong'd only to him to tame the Knights, and their Grand Master.

They were soon inform'd at *Rhodes* of the preparations which were made at *Constantinople* for a new Expedition; nor was the Grand Master idle in preparing to receive them.

But while the *Rhodians* were repairing the defences of their City, there happen'd extraordinary accidents which chang'd the whole course of their proceedings. A little while after the Fleet of the *Turks* was departed, there was heard over the whole Isle a kind of subterraneal noise, like to that of thunder that begins to grumble in a cloud. This was a prognostication of those Earthquakes with which the Island was terrifi'd for many months. The most firm foundations of the City were shak'n by the first shogs, and almost

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over-turn'd by the second shakings, which happen'd one after another; and which many times did not give over, but only to begin again with greater force.

The half of the Fort of St. *Nicholas* tumbl'd down one night, and the ruines of the Tower overwhelm'd most part of the Souldiers in the Tower. As the exhalation that caus'd these motions grew to be more and more enrag'd by the attempts which it made to get loose out of the caverns wherein it was enclos'd, the Earth-quake encreas'd every day. The Earth rear'd it self up, and violently bounded forward in some places; it cleft and open'd in others. Nothing but ruine and abysses appear'd every where; nothing was heard but the cries of affrighted people, that run up and down to save themselves, and yet no where found security. In short, it seem'd that the Island of *Rhodes*, which some believ'd was produc'd out of the Sea, to make the Earth tremble; was now just ready to perish by the same accident

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cident for which it was created.

To add to their affliction, these trembings of the Earth were accompani'd with such prodigious and impetuous showers of rain, as if a second deluge had been come to overflow the World. Besides all this, the Sea swell'd ten foot high; and having surpast its bounds, over-run the City with such an impetuosity and noise, as if it came to swallow it up. The *Rhodians* believ'd themselves lost, when they beheld how the very Elements conspir'd their ruine, at a time as they were threaten'd again with the whole force of the *Turks*. Nay, the Grand Master himself would have had much ado perhaps to have sustain'd himself with his natural constancy, had not his confidence in God fortifi'd him against so many calamities. Upon this Christian confidence it was, that he was often heard to say, like *Moses* and *David*. *The God of Battel is our fortress; when I walk in the midd'st of the shadow of death, I will fear none ill; because, thou Lord, art with me.*

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He exhorted all the people to take heart, but all his exhortations signifi'd little; for the people sensible of what they felt, abandon'd themselves to those impressions which such sort of calamities produce. And that which encreas'd the publick consternation, was, that about that time *Mahomet* was set out of *Constantinople* at the head of three hunder'd thousand men, resolv'd to conquer *Italy* or *Egypt*, so soon as he had conquer'd *Rhodes*. He cross'd the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and took his way for *Bithynia*; with a design to cross all *Asia* the less, and to come to the Port of *Lycia* before the Knights should know of his march. But Heaven is pleas'd sometimes at one blow to bring down the pride of the Grandees of the Earth. This proud Prince, who thought upon nothing but new conquests, was taken away by a violent Cholick in the midd'st of his Army, neer to *Nicomedia*. He was three and fifty years old; so vigorous, that he endur'd all the travels and labours of War without

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out any detriment to his health; the anguish that perplex'd him for raising the Seige of *Rhodes* did not a little contribute to his death. He always appear'd melancholly after that misfortune; and upon the very naming the word Grand Master, he fell into such dull fits as made him insupportable to himself. *William Caoursin*, who liv'd at that time, and was Vice-Chancellor of *Rhodes*, makes him to dye after a very strange manner. For he reports in his memoires, that *Mahomet* passing thorough a Forrest of *Bithynia*, a young Man clad in white, of a shape something more then *Human*, presented himself before him, with a visage burning with anger, and a flaming Sword in his hand, who after he had beheld him with a fiery and menacing eye, *Most impious among men*, said he, *I will run thee thorough with this Sword.* At which words *Mahomet* fell trembling from his Horse, as if he had been struck with a Thunder-bolt. That at the same time he suffer'd most bitter torments, which caus'd him to cry out most

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most dreadfully, and that soon after he died, blaspheming the name of Jesus, and cursing the *Rhodians*. Whether the Apparition were true or no, certain it is, that this Enemy of the
1481 Cross dy'd the same day that the Church celebrates the festival of the finding the Holy Cross, and that as he was expiring, he several times utter'd the word *Rhodes*, and commanded in the extremity of his pangs, that this Inscription should be written over his Tomb. *My design was to have taken* Rhodes *and subdued* Italy.

The death of the *Ottoman* Emperor was the safety of Christendome, and particularly of the *Rhodian* Territories. So that when the Grand Master heard the news, he gave thanks in publick to Heaven, that the Order was deliver'd from so powerful an adversary.

But that which more encreas'd the joy of the Knights was this, that the City of *Otrantum* was retaken from the *Turks* in *Puglia*, so soon as the death of *Mahomet* was known. *Achmat*

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mat Baſha, one of the greateſt men of the Empire, had made himſelf Maſter of this City the year before; and had left a ſtrong Garriſon therein, and ſettl'd it in a condition not to be aſſaulted. The taking of *Otrantum* made all *Italy* ſhake. And the vigorous holding out of the *Turks* againſt the *Neapolitans* that beſieg'd it, began to make *Rome* ſenſible of her danger; but when the beſieged underſtood the death of the Grand Signior, their courages fail'd them, and they ſurrendred to the Duke of *Calabria*, Son to the King of *Naples*, not ſtaying for the ſuccour of five and twenty thouſand men which *Achmat* was bringing himſelf. Theſe Tydings were acceptable to the Church; and then it was that the *Rhodians* began to take breath after ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes. The Earth grew ſteady, and the Sea retir'd, ſo that they had the liberty to repair all the ruins of the City. But as the corruption of manners uſually proceeds from the diſorders of War, the Grand Maſter undertook a reformation of the

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the Knights and people. To that end he made severe Laws against those vices that wound Christian Piety, and civil society, upon which accompt he forbad all manner of unlawful Games. These Laws were publickly proclaimed, and what was thought almost incredible, as readily obey'd; but a Soveraign finds no great trouble to make his Subjects obey him when he commands nothing but what he practises himself.

While all things were calm at *Rhodes*; the two parties that strove to succeed in the *Ottoman* Empire, put all *Turky* into a confusion. *Mahomet* at his death left two Sons behind him, *Bajazet* and *Zizim*, for *Mustapha* their elder brother was put to death by the command of his Father, That young *Sultan*, who who was both stout and valiant, and had not long before won a very signal victory from *Ussum Cassan* King of *Persia*, coming to the *Ottoman* Court about the particular affairs of his government of *Amasia*, fell so deeply in love with the wife of *Achmat*

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mat, that famous *Basha* that took *Otrantum*, that one day in the hight of his passion, he offer'd her violence as she was going into the Bath. *Achmat* complain'd to *Mahomet*, and tore his Turbant and his Vest, to express his grief. *What is that you complain of*, haughtily answer'd the Grand Signior to the *Basha*, *My Son has done nothing but abus'd the Wife of one of my Slaves.* However to give *Achmat* satisfaction, he gave immediate order that *Mustapha* should be strangl'd, at the same time acting the part of a cruel Father and a just King.

Thus *Bajazet* and *Zizim* remained the only Heirs of the Crown. The first govern'd *Paphlagonia*, and resided not far from the Black Sea. The Second had the Government of *Liconia*, in *Asia* the less, so that they were both at a great distance from their father when he dy'd. They had ever been kept a sunder the one from the other, and had never seen one another but once, out of a piece of policy of *Mahomet*, for fear least jealousy should divide themselves, or

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a ſtrickt amity unite them both againſt him. They were of a different Character, and diſpoſitions reſembling in nothing but the paſſion which they had to raign. *Bajazet*, to whom the *Turks* gave the name of *Lightning* or *Thunder*, by no means made his Title good, as being of a ſpirit altogether poor and mean, and one that minded nothing leſs then War. *Zizim*, whoſe name ſignifies love, on the contrary had a lively Wit, a noble Soul, and was moſt generouſly enclin'd. He was not ſo handſome as *Bajazet*; but there appear'd in his Perſon, and in his Countenance, ſuch a mixture of Grandeur, ſweetneſs, and haughtineſs mix'd together, that ſurpaſs'd beauty it ſelf. He delighted extreamly in hunting, and all Military exerciſes. And yet he had no leſs a love for learning then he had for Arms. He underſtood Languages, among the reſt the *Greek* and *Italian*; he ſpent ſome part of his time in reading of Hiſtories; and he was then writing the Story of his Fathers Life, when the news came to him of his

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his death. He was very zealous for the Mahumetan Religion, yet not with that head-strong passion, but that he had a great kindness for the Knights of *Rhodes*, whom his Father mortally hated, Besides all that, he had a particular affection for the Grand Master, from the very time that the first overtures of peace were made, and he had always a design to make as strict a league with him as the law of the Mussel-men would permit. And indeed there is such a coherence between the Story of the Grand Master and *Zizim*, that I cannot forbear to relate what happne'd to the two Brothers, before the Knights did interest themselves altogether in the quarrel.

So soon as *Bajazet* and *Zizim* understood of the death of the Emperor. They both of them minded nothing else but how to get into possession of the Empire. But before they took the Field, the partakers of each side at *Constantinople*, had taken Arms, and declar'd some for the One, and some for the Other. The heads of each party made out the best they could

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could the right of both Princes. They that took *Bajazets* part, cry'd out that nature spake in his behalf, for that being the eldest, he could not in justice be depriv'd of the Crown. The Friends of *Zizim* pretended that a lazy slothful Prince as *Bajazet*, that gave not his mind to business, but led a dissolute life, did not deserve to succeed to the great *Mahomet*. They maintain'd that *Zizim*, being endowed from Heaven with all the qualities that made a Prince worthy of an Empire, ought to be preferr'd in the succession to his Father. And as to the right of Eldership they added, that *Bajazet* indeed was born before *Zizim*; but that for that very reason he had no right to the Imperial Crown. *For*, said they, *the first is only the Son of* Bajazet, *the other is the Son of the Emperor*. Bajazet *was born while* Amurath *liv'd, and before Bajazet bare the Scepter. But* Zizim *came into the World, when his Father was in possession of all the Turkish dominions, and after he had conquer'd the Empire of the* Greeks;

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so that it might be truly said, that this young Prince was born upon the Throne; and that Nature, as well as Fortune, had design'd him for the Empire.

Both parties thus heated, fell at length from disputes to blows, the people taking part according as they were seduc'd and inveagl'd by the *Janizaries* and *Basha's*; insomuch that they plunder'd one part of the Palace, and the Imperial Treasure, and one of the Grandees of the Court was slain in a popular insurrection, wherein there was much blood spilt.

While this was the condition of affairs at *Constantinople*, and that the two Princes were preparing to make good their claims by force of Arms, the Grand Master thought it very convenient to take the advantage of *Mahomet's* death, and of the division of the Princes, and to make an attempt upon the Island of *Meteline*. It was then one of the richest Islands in the *Archipelago*, and the most commodious for Knights, being seated directly against the mouth of the Straight of

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Gallipoli. The broyls of *Turkey* made the enterprize easy. For there was no likelihood of any relief by Sea from the Infidels, when their Forces were all employ'd in a Domestick War. These considerations encourag'd the Grand Master to make ready with all speed the Ships of the Order, and to spare for nothing that might procure the success of such an important design. The Commander *de Jales*, who at that time kept cruzing the *Archipelago* with two Galleys, had order to attend the Fleet. When it was ready, it set Sail under the Conduct of the Commander *de Carmandin*, Baily of *Lango*. But sickness happening in the Fleet, unseasonable weather, and contrary winds disappointed a design, the success whereof seem'd to be infallible. But that which the Grand Master contriv'd to revenge himself upon the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, better succeeded. For that same treacherous Prince having no regard to the Peace, according to the custom and genius of the *Mahumetans*, had sent certain Pyrats to take the

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the Vessels, and plunder the Ships belonging to the Order, as if open War had been declar'd. Thereupon the Grand Master order'd his Galleys to cruize along the coasts of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and to make all the havock they could upon a faithless Barbarian. Which was so effectually perform'd, that *Caerbei*, the *Soldan*, soon repented him of his perjury.

In the mean while *Bajazet*'s party grew strong. For while the two *Sultans* were upon their march to dispute for the Crown by force of Arms, *Achmat*, who return'd to *Constantinople* when the *Turks* had forsaken *Otrantum*, and who was a person of great authority in the Empire, absolutely declar'd for *Bajazet*; whether it were that he was convinc'd of the justice of his cause, or that he hop'd to have the Government in his own hands, under a weak Prince. As he was a man prudent and bold, equally skill'd in Politicks, as War; after he had partly threaten'd, partly caress'd the more factious sort, he appeas'd the Sedition by setting

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upon the Throne one of *Bajazett's* Sons, of about thirteen years of age, whose name was *Sultan Corcut*, and proclaiming Emperor the Father of the young Prince. *Bajazett*, who had already rak'n shipping, soon came to *Constantinople* by the black Sea. *Achmat* receiv'd him at the head of the *Basha's* and *Janizaries* that he had gain'd, who having all of them saluted him Emperor, they conducted him to the Imperial Palace, surrounded with the shouts and acclamations of the people, who acknowledg'd him the lawful Heir of *Mahomet*.

Zizim's Adherents were vex'd to the very hearts to see his enemy upon the Throne; but the absolute power that *Achmat* had gain'd, forc'd them to dissemble their resentment, and to comply with the advancement of *Bajazett*. However, they held private Caballs together, and invited the young *Sultan* to make all the haste he could. *Zizim*, who had not the convenience of the Sea, but was to march through *Bithynia*, did not understand till he was upon the road,

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of the Coronation of his Brother. This unwelcome news did nothing abate the courage of the young Prince. He believ'd the people, whose inclinations are prone to change, and often contrary to themselves, would turn of his side, so soon as he should appear at *Constantinople*; and he believ'd it so much the more, because that *Bajazet* had been always less belov'd then he. With these hopes he march'd in all haste towards *Prusa*, the ancient residence of the *Ottoman* Emperors, and made himself Master of the City, with those few Troops which he had brought with him out of *Lycaonia*. This first success seem'd to promise more. And therefore, that he might not be wanting to his own good fortune, he labours, by means of his friends, to draw to his party the Lords and Grandees of the Port; and to regain the affection of the *Janizaries*, got what Money he could together, and reinforc'd his Army from day to day.

Bajazet, in whom desire of rule had augmented both his wit and his

courage, spar'd for nothing on his side, to stop the progress of the Sultan his Brother. And fearing lest Zizim should make himself Master of all Asia, he sent Achmat against him with a numerous Army, and made up of the old Souldiers of the Army. The Basha, who desir'd nothing more then to finish what he had begun, makes all possible haste, and encamps not far from Prusia, in a woody plain, resolv'd to carry the place, and to get the Prince into his power, who was the only obstacle to the repose of the new Emperor.

Zizim, who had not time to fortify the City, and wanted provisions to hold out a Siege, rather chose to take the field, then to be shut up in a weak and unprovided place. Thereupon out he marches at the head of his Cavalry; and having discover'd Achmat's Troops, which he did not think so nigh at hand, he resolv'd to give Battel immediately. Thus resolving to venture all for a Crown, he marches directly toward the enemy, telling his Souldiers that there

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was no other way but either to conquer, or dye. *Achmat* stood him with a wonderful resolution; and after he had born the fury of the first shock, he charg'd him so rudely, that the *Asiaticks* were soon put to the rout. The most part of them were raw Souldiers, ill disciplin'd, effeminate, and more accustom'd to repose and luxury, then to the noise of arms and labour. The Prince return'd to the charge with some of the choice of his Army, but they perish'd almost all by his side, and he himself had either been slain, or tak'n, had not night come on. Thereupon, favour'd by the darkness, he got into the next wood, hoping to rally his Troops, and to bring them on again the next day. But understanding that the most part of his people were either prisoners, or slain, he took a sudden resolution to fly for succour to the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, the King of *Cilicia*, and the Grand Master of *Rhodes*. To this purpose, with only forty Horse, marching day and night through unknown places, at length he got into

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Syria. Being come to *Jerusalem*, he went to visit the Temple of *Solomon*, to which the *Mahumetans* give a particular veneration; and there prostrated at the foot of the Altar, he besought the Divine Majesty to favour his just designs; after which, continuing his journey through the Deserts of *Arabia*, he came to *Caire*.

Cairbey receiv'd *Zizim*, not as a Fugitive, and despoyl'd Prince, but as a great King, the Son of a most famous Conqueror, and of the most Puissant Emperor that ever the *Turks* had. When he understood that the Prince was at hand, he sent before the most considerable *Emirs* and *Mamalukes* of his Court. And at the same time he went to receive him at the Gate of his Palace, contrary to the customs of the *Soldans*; nor were there any sort of honours or caresses with which he did not entertain him. *Zizim*, so much the better pleas'd with his entertainment, by how much the more he look'd upon the lowness of his condition, made his returns to the civilities of the Chirur-

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Chirurgeon, as shew'd his acknowledgment, but testifi'd nothing of weakness, or want of courage. After he had declar'd to him the reason of his coming, he told him withal, that he apply'd himself to him, as to the most zealous observer of the *Mahumetan* Law. He conjur'd him by the Temple of *Solomon*, and the Sepulcher of the Prophet *Mahomet*, which were both in his Dominions, to assist an unfortunate person with his counsels and his forces, against the violences of a barbarous Brother, who had depriv'd him of the Crown, and also sought to take away his life. The *Soldan*, mov'd by the discourse of *Zizim*, made him all manner of offers. But as *Cairbey* was a Politick Prince, who would not easily engage in dangerous affairs, being rather a lover of quiet and repose, he promis'd him first to labour an accommodation with *Bajazet*; and to keep his word, he dispatch'd away an *Emir* to *Constantinople*. The Embassy was no way pleasing to *Zizim*, who well knew that such kind of differences were

were not to be determin'd but by force. But the posture of his affairs, and the consideration of his wife and children that came after him to *Caire*, enforc'd him to dissemble. And the better to conceal his passion, he desir'd to go to *Mecca*, to worship the Sepulcher of *Mahomet*, though perhaps more out of discontent than devotion.

Hardly was the *Ottoman* Prince return'd, but news came from *Constantinople*. *Bajazet*, who in all things follow'd the counsel of *Achmat*, accepted the mediation of *Cairbey*, not so much to reconcile himself with his Brother, as to amuse him, and ruine him, under the pretence of accommodation. The *Soldan* over-joy'd to see himself the Arbitrator of so great a quarrel, went about to perswade *Zizim* that a part of the Empire was better then nothing; and upon that score he offer'd him for his share a Province in *Asia*. The *Sultan* was much displeased at his Proposition, and could not forbear from manifesting how high an injury it was

was to his pride. By this he found that mediation did but only make him lose time; and therefore not finding *Cairbey* very readily dispos'd to succour him, he resolv'd to implore the assistance of other Princes, at what time he receiv'd an Embassy from the *Grand Caraman*.

This Monarch, whom *Mahomet* had despoyld of the Kingdom of *Cilicia*, now call'd *Caramania*, thought he had now a favourable opportunity to recover the Kingdoms which he had lost; and made no question but that by declaring himself against *Bajazet*, he should oblige *Zizim*, should he contribute to put him in possession of the Empire, to restore him his own. Upon this consideration he rais'd Forces, and requested succour from all his friends. The Grand Master, to whom he particularly addres'd himself, sent him five Galleys laden with Souldiers and Artillery; who were readily willing to go, when the Counsel understood that it was done for the interest of *Zizim*, who had been always kind to

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the Knights, and the Vessels of the Order. In short, when *Caraman* had rais'd his Army, he sent for *Sultan Zizim* to come and joyn with him. The proposition of the King of *Caramania* was much more acceptable to the Prince, then that of the *Sultan*; but that which chiefly made him determine to leave *Caire*, was, that several *Bashu's* ill satisfi'd with the new Government, had by particular expresses assur'd him of their fidelity and services. However, as much displeas'd as he was in himself with *Cairbey*, he would not break with a Prince from whom he had receiv'd so much kindness; and who was able to do him as much prejudice. So that as a mark of the confidence he repos'd in him, he left his wife and children with him.

The great desire which *Zizim* had to obtain the Crown, which, as he pretended, belong'd to him, and of which he thought himself more worthy than *Bajazet*, made him hasten with all speed to *Mount Taurus*, where the Grand *Caraman* expected him;

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him; and the reason which that expell'd King had to hate the *Turks*, made *Zizim* believe that he should find in him an assur'd and faithful friend. After they had sworn to each other an inviolable Amity, the two Princes march'd together over vast Plains, and encamp'd with their Forces near to *Larvanda*, a City of *Cappadocia*; *Achmat*, who had winter'd in *Lycaonia*, neer *Iconium*, advanc'd with his Army upon the first report of the Confederacy of *Caraman* and *Zizim*; on the other side also *Bajazet*, whom the desire of ruining his Brother, made more bold and valiant every day then other, set forth from *Constantinople* at the head of a hunder'd thousand men, and joyn'd with *Achmat*, who had at least as many.

Whatever resolutions the two Princes had taken, they began to be afraid of so great a force; and *Caraman*, who knew his Troops to be far weaker then those of the *Turks*, gave *Zizim* to understand that it would be but meer rashness to give Battel.

He

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He also endeavour'd to perswade him that it was the part of prudence to retire. But the young Prince could not so resolve; either honour or despair caus'd him to make a propofal to *Bajazet*, that they might terminate their differences by a single combat in the sight of both Armies. *Bajazet*, who was not stout enough, and who was in too prosperous a condition to accept such a challenge, propos'd to *Zizim* another way of accommodation, and offer'd him any such Province as he should like upon the Frontiers of *Turkey*, with two hunder'd thousand Crowns in Gold every year, and a Court becoming the *Ottoman* magnificence.

Had those offers been as sincere, as they were made in craft, they would not have contented *Zizim*, whose ambition was not to be satisfi'd but with a Crown. He rejected them with disdain. But knowing that *Achmat* did but only seek to ensnare him, that he might get his person into his power, while he kept him in play with fair words, he at length

was

was perſwaded to retreat. The advice which he had of their cloſe purſuit, advis'd him to ſave himſelf through Forreſts and Deſerts in the moſt difficult Streights of Mount *Taurus*. The *Caraman* follow'd him preſently after with his Forces very much tir'd. *Zizim* had formerly ſecur'd himſelf in this place from the perſecution of an enemy that was not his Brother; but judging well, that a Brother ſo unnatural as his would never be at reſt, till he had eſtabliſh'd his Throne by the death of him that had the only right to pretend to it; after he had made ſeveral reflections upon the preſent, and the future, he reſolv'd to ſeek the Alliance and protection of the Grand Maſter, whoſe generoſity he was well acquainted with, and who was alſo a friend of the Grand *Caraman*. To that purpoſe he wrote to *Rhodes* by one of his moſt faithful ſervants; but that Meſſenger was tak'n by the *Turks*, who poſſeſs'd all the paſſes of the Countrey, and carri'd to *Bajazet*, who put him immediately to death.

When

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When *Zizim* understood that, and that *Achmat* sought for him in all places, he left Mount *Taurus*, and took the way of *Lycia* toward the Sea with the Grand *Caraman*, who was himself his guide. Who, no sooner were they got clear of the Streights of the Mountain, but their Troops who were posted there, and were preparing to follow them, were surrounded, and cut in pieces by *Achmat*. These new misfortunes put the young Prince upon sending to the Grand Master two prudent and faithful persons, the one of which was nam'd *Duan*, and the other *Solyman*. And there happen'd to be at that time a *Galiot* of the Order, that carri'd the Embassadors of *Zizim* to *Rhodes*.

Duan and *Solyman* fully inform'd the Grand Master of the adventures of their Prince. And afterwards they told him that it belong'd to none but the most Illustrious Knights of the World to protect an oppress Innocent; and that it was less an honour to humble the proud, then to assist the miserable. That *Zizim* requir'd neither

money

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money nor men; being resolv'd to submit a while to his bad fortune; that he did not covet to rule, but only sought an *Asylum*, where he might live in safety and quiet. They added, that in his youth he had had a manifest affection for the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and that he hop'd that the *Mahumetan* Law wherein he had been bred, would not hinder them from taking pity upon a young Prince expos'd to the most cruel persecution that ever was. To conclude, they told him that nothing would render the Knights of *Rhodes* more formidable to *Bajazett*, then their having his Brother in their power; nor more considerable either in *Europe* or in *Asia*, then to be Master of the Destiny of a Prince, who was *Mahomet*'s Heir.

These reasons were too sound not to move the Grand Master, who understood besides how profitable such an accident would be to all Christendom. It was therefore resolv'd in Council to entertain *Zizim*, and the grand Vessel of the Treasury was

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forthwith commanded together with a Galley, a Caravel, and other Vessels to go and fetch him. They also made ready at the same time a safe Conduct, after the same form which the Embassador desir'd. The Grand Master made choice of *Don Alvare* of *Zuinga*, Prior of *Castile*, for so honourable a Command, and gave him his Orders how he should behave himself toward the Prince.

Bajazett on the other side finding by a Letter intercepted, and by the advices which he had, that *Zizim* had bent his course toward the Coast of *Lycia*, to pass from thence by Sea to *Rhodes*, sent after him a body of Horse, with orders to take him dead or alive. *Zizim*, who had intelligence thereof, presently retir'd to the Sea side, where the great *Caraman* had prepar'd a Ship ready, in case the Prince should be pursu'd. The Spahi's however made so much haste, that they miss'd him but a moment; they appear'd at the very time when he was but just got into the Barque; and he was no sooner put off from the

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the shoar, but taking a Bow in sight of his Brothers souldiers, he let fly an Arrow, to the point whereof was fasten'd a Letter, the Contents of which were as follow.

King ZIZIM,

To King *Bajazett* his cruel Brother.

IF I commit a crime in flying for Refuge to the Christians, especially to the Knights of Rhodes, *the mortal enemies of our Illustrious Family, 'tis thou who art the only cause of it, both before God and Men. Thou art not only content to have depriv'd me of the Empire, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane; thou enforcest me to seek an ignominious sanctuary to save my life. Had* Mahomet *foreseen that thou wouldst one day have in such a manner disgrac'd the honour of the Name of* Mussulman, *and the* Ottoman

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toman *Race, he would have been thy executioner himſelf. But I hope that Heaven will revenge me of thy Tyranny; and it is my prayer to our great Prophet, to haſten the puniſhment which thou deſerveſt.*

When the Horſemen ſaw that the Bark was out of their reach, they return'd, enrag'd that they had miſs'd their prey; and carri'd the Letter to *Bajazett*. The Barbarian could not refrain from tears when he read it: And it is reported that he was ſeiz'd with a terrour when he had conſider'd it, and fell into a deep fit of malancholly. So great a power have the conceptions of Nature and Religion, at certain times, upon minds, the moſt cruel and impious. In the mean time, *Zizim*, who had heard no tidings of his Embaſſadors, not knowing what courſe to ſteer, nor were to land in ſafety, wander'd at the mercy of the waves and winds along the Coaſt of *Lycia*, at what time he diſcover'd certain Veſſels, that with all the ſail they could, ſeem'd

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seem'd to make toward him. Now, as it is natural to the unfortunate to be afraid of every thing, the Prince imagin'd them to be either Pirates, or such as had a design upon his life, being in pursuit of him by his Brothers order, upon which he commanded the Pilot to gain the first landing-place: But the event prov'd to him that he had had a false alarum. For they whom he took for Pirates and Enemies, were the Ships of *Rhodes* that were sent to seek him out.

When the Vessels were within sight of *Lycia*, *Don Alvarez*, according to his Instructions, sent *Zizim*'s Embassadors, and a Knight along with him to give notice of his Arrival. No sooner were they landed, but perceiving a Bark not far from the place where they went ashore, they found there *Zizim* himself, whom they thought to have been at the Court of the Grand *Caraman*. The Embassadors gave him an accompt of the favourable Inclinations of the Grand Master, and the Knight told him that

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Don Alvare, a kinsman of the Kings of *Castile*, Captain General of the Armies of the Order, and the Grand Masters Lieutenant, was come on purpose to conduct him safely to *Rhodes*. The Prince, who found something that was very acceptable in so strange an Adventure, and who perhaps out of pride, would not at first confess his slight and his fear to an unknown person, smartly reply'd, that not questioning the generosity of the Grand Master, he thought it convenient rather to come and expect him upon the Coast, then to put him to the trouble of searching after him. After which the Knight returning to the *Brigantine*, and coming up with the Vessels at Sea, *Don Alvarez* made to the Prince himself, to salute him in his own Galley. He presented him the Grand Masters safe conduct and Letter, and then carry'd him into the great Ship with a loud noise of Trumpets, and the Thunder of the Canon.

The Prior of *Castile* was one of those *Spaniards*, who being rarely bred, perfectly understood the world, being

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being no less polite then dextrous in his behaviour; and therefore he faild not to pay *Zizim* all those respects and offices which were due to an unfortunate and afflicted Prince. For though ill fortune had not abated the courage of the young *Sultan*, it had however somewhat encreas'd his natural melancholy. The Procedure of *Don Alvare* affected *Zizim* in such a manner, that he testified at first how sensible he was of his kind offices, and gentle services. *Generous Knight*, said he, *in loosing a Throne, I have not lost those thoughts which Nature bequeaths to the most barbarous. And if fortune do not altogether destine me to misery, you shall find that I was not born ungrateful. But I see your generosity is altogether pure, and that in treating an Unfortunate so worthily, you only seek the honour of doing good. Yet I cannot wonder enough*, added he, *that so much civility should be shewn to the Son of the most implacable enemy Your Order ever had, and I must confess, that therein I admire your ingenuity.*

Great Prince, Repli'd the Knight, *Reason commands, that we should give honour to persons of high birth, and real merit, whatever their condition be; and they are but mean souls, that rather follow the Fortunes, then the persons of Kings. You are forc'd to fly ill intreated by your subjects, and depriv'd of your Dominions, but you are still a King, you are still* Sultan Zizim. *We receive you as a Prince, whose virtue and misfortune render him worthy the esteem of Christians, and not as an enemy. Nor are you to wonder that the Grand Master entertains in this manner the Son of an Emperour, who mortally hated us.* Mahomet *your Father did all he could to ruine us: we have done all we could to withstand his triumphant Arms, and by the mercy of God we obtain'd a signal Victory against him, the remembrance of which After-Ages will preserve. The Knights of* Rhodes *know how to vanquish those that assail them; but they know how to relieve with humanity those that cast themselves into their*

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their Protection; nor are there any Injuries which they do not forget, when their enemies are no longer able to do them harm.

The Answer of *Don Alvares* convinc'd *Zizim* of the generosity of the Knights, and entirely gain'd his confidence.

The Grand Master had commanded that he should be treated like the Son of an Emperour and a King. To which purpose the Officers that first serv'd him at his Table, made an Essay of the meat, according to the custom of the Courts of *Europe*. *Zizim* seem'd to be surpriz'd, because that Ceremony is not in fashion among the *Turks*: but it was told him it was the usual practice at the Tables of the *European* Princes, and that it was an Assurance against poison. *Oh!* said he, *I am not afraid of being poisoned by such generous Knights as you; I have put my life and fortune into your hands, and I hold my self secure. Besides, I had rather you should treat me as a friend, then a Prince.* Concluding those words, he

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he took something out of every dish of which no Essay had been made, and putting all the meat into one plate, he began to eat, to let the Knights know how much he confided in them. After that he began to be more gay and pleasant, while the good entertainment that he receiv'd had almost made him forget his past misfortunes.

Nevertheless, when the Ships were under sail, and that the Coasts of *Lycia* began to disappear, he then began to be apprehensive that nothing could be more worthy of composition then a fugitive and wandring King, driven to seek an *Asylum* in the territories of strangers, and of enemies. So that the sad thoughts which seiz'd him all of a sudden, caus'd him to be profoundly sad for some hours; so that all his courage was but little enough to bring him to his former humour.

For the mean while the Ship kept on their course, and they had so fortunate a passage, that they came in a small time within view of *Rhodes*.

Don

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Don Alvarez speeded before in a Brigantine, to give the Grand Master notice of the Prince's arrival. All things were already order'd for his Entry; and among the rest of the preparations, there was a bridge of wood, which reach'd from the gate of the Port, above ten paces into the Sea, to the very place where the Ship that carri'd *Zizim* was to lye.

The most ancient Commanders which the Grand Master sent before to meet the Prince, receiv'd him with all the respect which was due to the Son of their Emperour *Mahomet*. So that while the Artillery play'd from all parts, he pass'd over the Bridge which was cover'd with cloth of Gold, in the midst of the Acclamations of the people, whom curiosity had drawn to the shoar. From whence, after he had mounted a Spanish Courser, richly harnessed, he rode forward to the Great *Piazza*, with the sound of fifes and Trumpets, conducted by *Don Alvarez*, who did him the Office of a Squire. The Streets were all strew'd with herbs & flowers, and an infinite

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infinite number of people fill'd the plat-forms and windows. *Zizim*, entring into the City, was smitten with the beauty which appear'd there very rich in habit, as well to see as to be seen, and with a loud voice he spoke it, that it was not for nothing that the *Rhodian* women were accounted the fairest of all *Asia*.

At the same time that the Ship which carry'd *Zizim* entred the Port, the Grand Master march'd out of the Castle with a pompous train, and in very good order. He was attended by a troop of young Knights, very richly habited, and mounted upon horses of high price. The Officers of the Order follow'd them; every one wearing about their necks a Chain of Gold, going two and two, with countenances wherein there was both haughtiness and modesty mixed together. The Grand Master appear'd at last, apparell'd in Tissue of Gold, embroider'd with precious stones, mounted upon a *Neopolitan* Steed, whose harness was all embroider'd with Gold and Silver. The Squires

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Squires and Pages that follow'd him, were no less remarkable for the splendour of their habits and furniture, then for their goodly presences, and dexterity in the management of their Horses. But there appear'd an Air so noble, and something so majestick in the person of the Grand Master, that he was easily distinguish'd from the rest of the company. A great body of Horse clos'd up the Rear of the Retinue.

The Grand Master stopp'd before the Church of St. *Sebastian*, and put his men in order in the *Piaz*, expecting the approach of the *Sultan*. So soon as *Zizim* perceiv'd the Grand Master, who was shew'd him by *Don Alvarez*, though he were remarkable enough in many other respects, he saluted him according to the manner of the *Turks*, by putting his finger three times upon his mouth. The Grand Master on his part making a low obeysance, advanc'd toward him, and making a second bow, gave him a very civil complement in *Italian*, which was answer'd

ſwer'd by the Prince with a good grace, and in expreſſions full of good ſenſe. After that they gave their hands each to other, and having repeated ſome few more words of friendſhip and kindneſs, they march'd together to the *French* Lodgings, which were prepar'd for the Prince. The Grand Maſter, when they began to ſet forward, gave him the upper hand; but *Zizim*, making ſome reflexions upon it, would not permit it at firſt. *I am your Captive*, ſaid he, *and it becomes not a Captive to take the place of honour.* *Sir*, anſwer'd the Grand Maſter, *Captives of your condition, preſerve their dignity in all places, and I would to God you had as much power in* Conſtantinople *as you have in* Rhodes.

As to the reſt, *Zizim* appear'd neither merry nor ſad, during the whole Calvacade. He carry'd the look of a perſon, who had the proof both at one time of good and bad fortune; or like one that believ'd himſelf worthy of the honours which were done him. He ſeem'd however

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to be highly pleas'd with the behaviour of the Knights; and when he alighted from his Horse, he embrac'd the Grand Master with a very tender affection, calling him several times his Protector and Father. That day, and for some daies following, they had several particular discourses upon the present condition of Affairs; but all that time abstain'd from particular conferences. However, there was nothing omitted for the divertisement of the young *Sultan*, so that there was nothing to be seen at *Rhodes* but Hunting-matches, Runing at the Ring, Shews, and magnificent Feasts. But all these divertisements did not compleat the repose of the Prince's mind. For though he were not afraid of the Knights, he could not think himself in safety in a place full of *Greeks*, and so neer the *Turks*; and what was more the proceedings of the *Port*, daily encreas'd his disquiet and his fears.

At the beginning of those divisions which turmoil'd the *Ottoman* Empire, after the death of *Mahomet*, *Bajazett*

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Bajazett was afraid that it would not go well with his affairs, so long as he was not in friendship with the Grand Master, however he could not condescend to demand peace himself. There to save his reputation, he dealt in private with the Sub-Basha *De Pizzona*, who was come over to his Party, and was Governour of *Lycia*. The Sub-Basha sent an Embassador to *Rhodes*, with instructions not to speak of *Bajazett*, but only to manage a truce between the people of *Lycia* and the *Rhodians*, believing that a Peace would easily follow a Truce. But the Embassy not having that success which was expected, *Bajazett* made use of *Achmat* to carry on his design. The *Basha*, as jealous of the honour of the *Sultan*, as the Governour of *Lycia*, wrote, as from his Supream a very yielding Letter to engage the Grand Master to an accommodation, and entrusted *Lasim Brahim* for his Agent with the Letter. The Grand Master thought himself obliged to hear the Propositions of *Achmat*, as wel

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well for the love of his people, who stood in need of rest after the toils of so long a war, as for the honour of the Order, to whom a Treaty could not be but advantageous, that mention'd nothing of Tribute.

The Reception of *Zizim*, made *Bajazet* impatient of a conclusion of peace. Upon which *Achmat* urg'd it more and more by his Minister *Lasim Brahim*. He offer'd also that the Grand Signior should sign whatever the Knights desir'd, and for a pledge of his real intentions, he restor'd all the Vessels of the Order which had been taken since the Truce by the Pyrates of *Lycia*.

All these condescentions of the Port, so different from the *Ottoman* Haughtiness, more then ever alarum'd Prince *Zizim*. He imagin'd with himself, that his Brother was not so desirous of peace, but only that he might have an occasion to destroy him; and that when Trade should be free between the *Rhodians* & *Turks*, he should be in daily fear of either being stabb'd or poison'd: and that the

runagate *Greeks* so accustom'd to treachery and murther, would omit nothing to serve *Bajazett* to good purpose. In the midst of these thoughts he resolv'd to seek a Sanctuary elsewhere, to preserve himself from a violent death, to which purpose he open'd his mind to the Grand Master, in whom he put an entire confidence. The Grand Master found that *Zizim* offer'd nothing but reason; yet because the affair was of great impotance, he resolv'd to have the advice of his Council, before he gave the Prince a positive answer. Among them, Opinions were different, while some affirm'd that it was for the interest and honour of the Order to keep the Prince; that *Bajazett* durst not refuse the Knights any thing, or make any attempt upon them, while *Zizim* remain'd at *Rhodes*; that when he was out of their power, they could expect nothing but a cruel war, or a very disadvantageous peace. That by all the rules of prudence they were to lay hold upon so fair an occasion;

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caſion; or at leaſt before the retreat of the *Sultan*, they were to make an honourable agreement with the Port. As for the ſafety of the Prince, they might eaſily ſecure it, by affording him a ſufficient Guard, there being very few *Aſſaſſinates* that would attempt the perſons of great men, at the hazard of their own lives.

The more diſintereſted, and the wiſer ſort were of a contrary judgment, that a removal was the only way to preſerve *Sultan Zizim* from the misfortunes that threatned him: that war did no way ſecure him, that after a refuſal of Peace with the *Turks*, they had no way to ſecure him from poiſon or aſſaſſination, while treaſon enters every where, and the fidelity of ſervants and guards is not proof againſt any large ſum of money. That while *Bajazet* ſought to get him into his power by all the waies imaginable, they could neither ſurrender him without betraying their faith given, nor keep him without drawing upon themſelves the indignation of the *Sultan*.

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Zizim, who saw that his affairs would spin out too much time, unless he determin'd something speedily, and well enough understood the danger of delay, press'd the Grand Master to give him his liberty to be gone, and conjur'd him to permit him that he might go to the King of *France*, as being the person most capable to protect him against the Tyranny of his Brother. For besides that he guess'd at the *French* Humour, by the behaviour of the Grand Master, he had heard frequent discourses of their generosity; nor did he question but that the successors of *Clovis* and *Charlemaigne*, whose famous deeds he had read, would take delight in restoring a Prince to his Throne.

The Grand Master could not withstand neither the reasons, nor the powerful instances of *Zizim*. He approv'd his determination touching his retreat into *France*. But that which made him approve it the more, was that he thought that *Zizim* ran no hazard in a Countrey which produc'd no Monsters, and where poison was

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was unknown. So that the safety of a poor Prince who had thrown himself into the Arms of the Knights, made the Grand Master in some measure forget his own Interests, and those of his people; for not troubling himself about the ill consequences that so hasty a Retreat might draw after it, he gave all orders necessary for the Voyage into *France*. He redoubl'd at the same time his civilties to the *Sultan*, and the eeve before his departure made him a most magnicent Feast. *Zizim* admir'd more then once the variety and dressing of the meat, and the order of the service, confessing that the magnificence of the *Ottoman* Emperours had nothing so sumptuous. During the feast there was a noble consort of musick, and among the rest of the Musicians an English man, who sung rarely, and plaid upon a certain unusual Instrument compos'd of four Pipes joyn'd together, charming all the company, except the Prince, whose ears were not accustom'd to such sweet musick. Whereupon the Grand

Master who perceiv'd it, and sate alone at the Table with him, sent for a Turkish Slave, whom he thought would better please him.

This Slave, singing a Turkish Air, and playing upon I know not what sort of Instrument, making faces, and using ridiculous postures, delighted *Zizim* so well, that he caus'd him to laugh heartily. He eat plentifully and as strict as he was in the observation of his Law, he drank wine sometimes mix'd with Aromatick juices, and sometimes neat without any composition. The Feast was in the Grand Master's Palace, where they sate upon two Chairs with a Table before them, after the fashion of *Europe*; but that posture was uneasie to the *Sultan*, who was wont to eat cross-legg'd, so that he cast his eyes up and down to see if no body observ'd his disturbance.

But after all these lesser observations, *Zizim* was extraordinarily satisfi'd with the marks of friendship which he receiv'd from the Grand Master during his stay at *Rhodes*; he

return'd

return'd him thanks several times; and as a testimony of his gratitude, he caus'd three Authentick Acts to be forthwith made ready, which he put into the Grand Master's hands. The first was an absolute power for him to conclude a Peace with the Port, as he should see good. The second was a kind of a *Manifesto* for the discharge of the Knights, by which the Prince declar'd that he had earnestly desir'd to go out of *Rhodes*, and to be conducted into *France*: which is alone enough to justifie the Grand Master, whom some ill-meaning, or ill-inform'd people have blam'd for letting the Prince go. The third Act was a perpetual confederation of the Prince with the Order, in case he should ever come to be restor'd to the Dominions and Territories of his Ancestors. This last 1482
Act is so much for the honour of the Grand Master, and so highly manifests the acknowledgment of *Zizim*, that I thought it might not be troublesom to the Reader to see it,

Let all the world know that King Zizim, *of the Race of the* Ottomans, *Son of the invincible Mahomet, King of Kings, and Soveraign Emperour of* Greece *and* Asia, *is infinitely beholding to the thrice generous, and thrice illustrious, the Lord* Peter D'Aubusson, *Grand Master of* Rhodes. *Let all the world also know that for the kind Offices he hath shewn me in the most perilous adventures of my life, and to testifie my acknowledgment as far as the present condition of my fortune will give me leave, I promise solemnly to* God *and our Great Prophet, that if I ever recover either absolutely or in part, the Imperial Crown of my Father, I promise, I say, and swear to hold a perpetual friendship, and inviolable peace with the Grand Master and his successours according to the Articles following.*

In the first place I engage my self, my children, and the children of my children to have an eternal kindness for the order of St. John *of* Jerusalem, *so that neither I, nor my children shall do them any injury either by*

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by Sea or Land. That we will be so far from stopping the Vessels or disturbing the commerce of the Merchants of Rhodes, or of any other Ilands appertaining to the Order, that our ports shall be free to them in all the Provinces under our obedience, as if they themselves were our subjects; or rather we will entertain them as our friends, permitting them to buy, sell, or transport what Merchandize they please, without paying any custom, or duty.

Besides this, I consent that the Grand Master shall every year take out of my Territories three hundred Christians of both sexes, and at what age he pleases, to put into the Islands of the order, or to do with them what he thinkes best. And in some measure to make satisfaction for the expences which the Grand Master has bin at, and every day so liberally allows for my sake, I oblige my self to pay in ready mony a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns in Gold. Lastly I promise upon oath to restore him all the Isles, all the Lands, and all the

the Fortresses which the Ottoman Emperours *have taken from the order. And for a testimony that this is my will, I have sign'd with my hand, and seald with my seal this present Act given at* Rhodes *in the palace of the French Apartiment the fift of the month* Regeb, *the year of the Hegira,* 887.

The 31. *Of August in the Year of grace,* 1482.

The third of September which was the day that the Prince took shipping, he was attended to the Sea with the same Pomp, and the same ceremonie, with which he was receiv'd. He took his leave of the principal Knights, after a most obliging manner, wherin there appear'd nothing of Barbarism. He also laid aside all his haughtiness, when he gave the Grand Master his last farewel: For it is reported that he threw himself at his feet, and kiss'd his hand with a profound respect. The Grand Master tenderly embrac'd him, and wept for some time over him either through compassion, or through tim

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some secret dictate that he should never see him again. The Knight *de Blanchefort*, who was return'd to *Rhodes* since the raising of the seige, & the Knight *de Rochechenard* had order to conduct the *Sultan* into *France*, not to mention the Knights who were nam'd to accompany him, and to serve him as a convoy; but they enter'd all together with *Zizim* into the great ship of the order, and set saile the same day with a favourable wind.

The Grand Master, who had already given advice to the Pope of the arrival of the *Ottoman* Prince, gave him also notice of his departure by this opportunity, and sent him word in particular, that *Zizim* of his own accord had made choice of *France* for the security of his life: that he had good ground for his fears; in regard that for the forty dayes that he had stay'd in *Rhodes* he was certainly enformd that the Grand signiour had us'd all his endeavours either to take or murder him.

The

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The departure of the Prince did not work that ill effect which some were afraid of. For though *Bajazet* was soon inform'd of what had pass'd, yet he desir'd peace with the same earnestness as before; because he always lookt upon the Grand Master as the Arbiter of the *Sultan* his Brothers fortune. So that the Embassadours that departed for *Constantinople* the next day after Prince *Zizim* was gon, were honourably receiv'd by the Grand Signiour, and the peace had bin presently concluded, had not the pride of *Achmat* put a stop to it.

This *Basha*, equally proud & cuning, who in his letters had given a blank paper to the Grand Master, could not endure that the first proposition which the Embassadours made should be that no mention should be made of Tribute. He brake forth upon that subject with a haughtiness, which made him almost forget the respect to the sacred Persons of the Ministers of Soveraign Princes. The Knight *Guy de Mont Amaud*, who was one of

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of the Embassadours, and who in his instructions had expres order to bear up briskly against the *Basha*, took him up short, and spoke to him with that sharpnes, that had absolutely broke off the Negotiation, if *Misach Paleologus*, who was at the conference, had not allay'd their passions. After the death of *Mahomet* he was returned to the port, and had gain'd the favour of *Bajazet*, by espousing his Interest. He, well acquainted with the humour of the Knights, and having prov'd to his cost, the constancy of the Grand Master, knew it was in vain for *Achmat* to contend so obstinately upon the point of tribute, and told him his reasons breifly, though in the Turkish language, that the Embassadours might not understand him.

The Knight *Leonard Duprat*, who was the other Embassadour, and understood Turkish, understanding the *Basha's* discourse, and repeating it in French to the Knight *de Mont Amaud*, was the occasion, that both standing stifly to their principles,

Ach-

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Achmats heat began to cool, so that of himself he began to give way to their demands. *Bajazet* promised not only to live in good amity with the Knights of *Rhodes*, but not to trouble the rest of the Christians. The Grand Master undertook for his part, to keep *Zizim* always in the power of the Knigths, and to endeavour all he could that the *Sultan* should not fall into the hands of any Prince either Christian or Infidel. Upon this the peace was concluded according to the Articles which the Embassadours propos'd; and it may be said that never was any Accommodation made with the Port, either more honourable or more profitable to *Christendom*. That which was most remarkable and extraordinary was that *Bajazet* engag'd himself, either through weakness or Policie, to pay the Grand Master a kind of Tribute. To this purpose he sent to *Rhodes Cagritaim*, his principal favourite. and the two Knights bestirrd themselves so well, that they carry'd him along with them upon their return.

Cagritaim

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Cagritaim declar'd in full councel, that the Port would pay to the order thirty five thouſand Duckets, money of *Venice*, for the ſubſiſtence of *Zizim*, and beſides that, the Grand Signiour would pay every year to the Grand Maſter in particular ten thouſand Duckets, to make him amends in ſome meaſure for the exceſſive charges he had bin at in the laſt war.

Achmat, who was the proudeſt perſon in the world, and one that mortally hated the Chriſtians, eſpecially the Grand Maſter and the Knights, could not brook this condeſcientiion in the Grand Signor: He accus'd him of lowneſs of Spirit, and cowardice; he murmur'd in publick, and made ſharpe ſcoffs upon it. *Bajazet*, who for ſome time before began to grow jealous of the *Baſha*, as of a perſon that did not love any thing more then war; and was therefore likely to take *Zizims* part, took theſe murmuors and rebukes for the ſymptomes of a revolt: And believ'd that only the death of ſuch a dange-

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dangerous enemy could break his designs. True it is that he owd to him for the Crown; but usually great benefits are look'd upon as crimes: & weak Princes often find their safety in the destruction of those that rais'd them, and are able to pull them down again.

So soon as the peace was concluded between the Knights and the *Turkes*, the Grand Signiour put to death this famous Basha at a Magnificent feast, where were all the grandees of the Port, and where *Bajazet* was present himself. The discourse of the table falling upon the Peace, and *Zizim*, *Bajazet* to provoke *Achmat*, and to engage him to speak somthing to be layd hold on, publickly declar'd that he would lessen the Souldiers pay, and deprive the Grandees of the port of their emploiments that were not loyal to their lawful Prince. The *Basha*, who well understood that those words concern'd him, presently took fire, and went so high in the heat of the debauchery, as to tell the Grand Signor that it was but an ill way to establish

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establish a throne to provoke the Souldiery; and that the *Ottoman* Monarcks were not assur'd of their Empires, so long as they had Brothers alive. He had no sooner spoke the words, but a mute instructed before gave him six stabs with a poignard. Others say that after the feast was over, *Bajazet* who loved wine, kept *Achmat* to drink with him alone, under pretence of friendship, and that seeing him half drunk he commanded two Eunuches to strangle him However, it were *Cagritaim* succeeded at the Port in his place, though he had neither the merit nor experience; but he knew perfectly how to humour *Bajazet*, who only minded ease.

In the mean while, the Grand Master, who made little accompt of the friendship of the Infidels, of whose perfidiousness he had a thousand times experienc'd; and for that the person of *Lizim* seem very proper for him to make use of in case of a rupture, he apply'd himself wholly to make a league between the

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Christian Princes against the common enemy. He wrought several Letters to them, he sent them particular Agents to let them understand that there was never a fairer opportunity to ruin the *Ottoman* Empire, or at least to weak'n it very much; that *Zizim* at the head of a croisade world do as much as many Armies together, that the death of *Achmat* had depriv'd the *Turkes* of the most able Minister, and the most valiant Captain, that perhaps they ever had. That the Grand *Caraman*, and other Princes of *Asia* expected only when *Europe* would move, to declare themselves; and in short, that all the present conjunctures renderd that enterprize easie, which was so difficult of it self. But I know not by what fatality, if it were not rather the Incomprehensible disposal of providence, the Christian world, was not at all enclin'd to take advantage of the opportunity which Heaven it self seem'd to put into their hands. All *Italy* was then divided. The King of

of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines* were in arms againſt the Pope and the common wealth of *Venice*. *France* was noteſs in trouble after the death of *Lewis* the 11th. The party of malecontents ſtirr'd up by the Duke of *Orleans* who pretended to the regency, and by the Count of *Angoulisme* his couſin, had excited troubles over all the Kingdom. Beſides the French deſir'd quiet at home, only that they might be at leaſure for the conqueſt *Naples*. And young *Charles* the 8th. Who naturally loved honour, made that the aim of all his ambition. The war of the *Moors* made work enough in *Spain*. And the bad correſpondence which daily encreas'd between the Emperour *Frederick*, and *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary* prevented them from uniting together againſt the *Turk*, ſo that all the deſigns of the Grand Maſter vaniſh'd in ſmoak, and with all his zeal he had only the greife to effect nothing.

But if the Chriſtian Princes were

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not in a condition to make use of the person of *Zizim* for the common good of Christendom, they were no less disappointed in making advantage of him for their particular Interests. How importunate soever the most part of them were to have him, the Grand Master would never give his consent, and his orders were so well observ'd in that particular, that the order of St. *John* was always the Mistress of him. *Zizim* being arriv'd in *France*, the King receiv'd him but coldly, either because that *France* would by no means embroil themselves with the Port, just before the expedition against *Naples*, or else because they fear'd that an honourable reception, was an engagement too high in the entertaining a Turkish Prince, so that he stay'd but a very little while at Court, the Knights conducting him to the commander of *Bourgneus*, this was a place upon the confines of *Poictou* and *March*, pleasently situated, where the Grand Priers of *Auvergne* kept their Residence.

The

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The Knight *Blanchefort*, with whom the Grand Master had particularly entrusted the person of *Zizim*, took care that the Prince should not be presently displeased. He gave him all the honour that his birth deserv'd, and shew'd him all the sports and pastimes that the Country could afford. But notwithstanding all these civilities, the Knight *Blanchefort* omitted not to have an eye upon the Prince, and to keep a strong guard about him, to hinder those that sought for him from getting him into their hands either by cunning or force. But as the love of liberty is more natural to Princes then to other men, *Zizim* soon perceiv'd that he was watch'd too narrowly. That reflexion made him suspect the diligences of the Knights, and caus'd him to think that he was rather kept as a prisoner then a Prince. He testify'd his displeasure at it, which caus'd those reports that ran about the world in prejudice of the Grand Master's honour. They gave out that it was a

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violation of the publick faith to retain *Zizim* in prison against his will. That the Knights had sold his liberty to the *Ottoman* Port for forty thousand Ducats a year; and that it was therefore no wonder they had such a strict eye over him. That such a prisoner was a treasure for them, and that their insatiable avarice made them forget the more holy duties of civil society.

They that thus discours'd either through jealousy, or else judging by outward appearances, did not consider that at a time when all *Europe* was in an uproar, there was nothing more to be done for the good of Christendom, nor for the safety of *Zizim*, then what the Grand Master did. And had they been well inform'd of all the snares that the Grand Signiour laid for *Zizim*, they would then have chang'd their Opinion, and found that the Knights that so guarded him were the true defenders of his life, and of his liberty.

Nor had *Zizim* reason to complain

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plain of the conduct of the Grand Master as well in reference to himself, as the *Ottoman* Port; for in desiring a safe conduct of him, he expressly declar'd that he intended to follow his counsel and orders in every thing, so that by the consent of *Zizims* Imbassadours the safe conduct was dispatched upon that condition, as the Grand Master observ'd in a Letter which he wrote to Pope Sextus the 4th. Besides the *Sultan* had given the Grand Master a sufficient liberty to treat with the Grand Master as he pleas'd himself, and it was by vertue of that liberty that the Grand Master had concern'd *Zizim* in the treaty of peace.

As for the thirty thousand Ducats, certain it is, that the money was spent in maintenance of *Zizim*. By which the Grand Master was so far from getting any profit, that he made an addition to it out of his own revenue. Which may be easily thought to be true, considering with what royal magnificence the *Ottoman* Prince was always entertain'd,

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not to mention the infinite expences of receiving and sending Embassadours.

But *Zizim*'s discontent lasted not long. For the Knights made him, soon to understand that the Guard that was upon him, was against his Enemies, and not him. Thus being quitted of his suspitions, and perswaded more then ever of the friendship of the Grand Master, he complain'd no more but of his bad fortune that had reduc'd him to a country and solitary life.

Now the peace between the order and the Port having open'd a freedom to trade, several Turkish Vessels came to *Rhodes*. And most of the *Turks* that Landed, were so taken with the beauty of the *Rhodian* women, that they spar'd for nothing to satisfy their desires. This glister of Gold grew such a temptation, that several of the *Rhodians* without regard to the Christian law, or their own, yeilded themselves to the *Mahometans*. But the Grand Master abhorring such a shameful prostitution

tion, and to stop the torrent of such a scandal, condemn'd the Christian women that were convicted of such a crime as lying with a *Turk*, a *Moore*, or a *Jew*, to be burnt alive, and he order'd the punishment to extend to the very procurers of that infamous familiarity.

Some while after the Grand Master made a regulation upon *Sultan Zizim*'s accompt. For considering how much it concern'd the honour of the order, and the General Interest of Christendom, that his person should not be expos'd to the Assassinates of *Bajazet*, he orderd that the Knight *de Blanchefort* should take as many Knights as he pleased for the Guard of *Zizim* commanding strictly those that were nam'd to obey him without any more to do; declaring withall that such as shou'd be bound to attend upon *Zizim*, should enjoy all the prerogatives of Residence, and precedency, as if they had stay'd at *Rhodes*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Fifth.

WHILST *Zizim* had a private and obſcure life in *France*, one *Bajazett* almoſt unknown till then appear'd in the world, reſolv'd to take advantage of the diviſions of the two *Ottoman* Brothers. He was their Uncle, being the Brother of *Mahomet* and Son of *Amurath*. After the loſs of *Con-*

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Constantinople, he was taken by the Christians in his Infant years, and carry'd to *Rome* in the Pontificat of *Nicholas* the fifth, who took care himself of his Education. The Instructions which he receiv'd were not altogether unprofitable: For he renounc'd the law of his false Prophet and became a Christian. He apply'd himself afterwards to the study of humane Learning; and as he wanted not wit, he perfectly attain'd the Latine Language. But *Nicholas* the *Fift* being dead, he left *Italy*, to travell into *Germany*. There he was well receiv'd; and the *Germans* lookt upon him as a person that might be useful to them in their Wars against the *Turks*. After he had stay'd sometime in the Emperor *Fredericks* Court, he went into *Hungary*, and there settl'd himself, not dreaming to raise his fortune any higher, for the example of the brave and vertuous *Matthias* made so little impression upon him, that he only minded his repose and pleasure in the Court altogether Warlike, and altogether Christian. An. 1455

But

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But the Quarrel between *Bajazet* and *Zizim* which made such a noise over all *Asia* and *Europe*, awak'ned him out of that dream wherein he lay, and rous'd his ambition by causing him to remember his birth. The flight of *Zizim* begat in him a desire to make war against *Bajazet*. He revolv'd in his mind, that having but one enemy to deale with, he might without fear dispute for the Empire, but at the same time he thought there was no way for him to compass his design, but by the assistance of the Knights of *Rhodes*. And he had a belief that infallibly he should attain his ends, provided he could engage the Grand Master to his side. To this purpose he wrote to him a long Letter in Latin. Wherein he first declar'd himself the only heir to the *Ottoman* Crown, as lawful Son of *Amurath*, pretending that *Mahomet* was but his bastard; then he spoke of his great feats of arms, like a true Knight errant; and because the Christian world might not be so well inform'd, he referr'd the Grand Master

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Master to the *Turks* for a clearer understanding of things. But the *Turks* knew him not so well as the Christians; for he was carry'd away so young from *Constantinople*, that it was impossible for him to have done any thing remarkable in *Turky*. At last he highly extold the services he could do for Christendom, and the information he could give the Grand Master touching several important secrets of affairs, advising him not to let slip so fair an opportunity, & earnestly desiring his speedy answer. The letter was written with his own hand; but as if he had the management of all the business in the world, he concluded that it was writ in haste.

They were not convinc'd at *Rhodes* of *Bajazett* of *Hungaries* reasons. That *Braggadochio* stile wherewith he thought to win the assistance of the Knights, was in part the reason why they refus'd it him. On the other side, the Grand Master who had a tender love for *Zizim*, and was loath to embroil himself with the Port, took no care to listen to

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to the Propositions of an Adventurer, of whom he had no knowledge, and to who he had no engagement; so that this new Actor soon return'd to that obscurity wherein he had alwaies liv'd, and which he so much the rather deserv'd, because he had sought too late to quit it.

The Grand Signior took it the most kindly in the world, that he had behav'd himself in that manner, and as a mark of his acknowledgment he began from that time to pay him the forty thousand Duckets which he had promised him. The first payment was made by *Ussambei*, one of the Principal Officers of the Port. He was sent expressly to *Rhodes*, with order nevertheless to go for *France*, under pretence to thank *Charles* the Eighth, for receiving *Zizim* into his Territories, but indeed to learn certain intelligence of his Brother. However, *Bajazett* fearing lest *Ussambei* should find some obstacle in his Embassy, conjur'd the Grand Master that he should give him letters of recommendation for *France*. But the Grand Master

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Maſter did not think it enough to write to the King. He was reſolv'd that the Hoſpitalier of the Order ſhould accompany the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador, to be his Guide, and to introduce him into the Court. And indeed *Uſſambei* was better receiv'd than *Zizim* had been; for the complements of *Bajazett* highly pleas'd the *French*.

In the mean time the war of *Terrara* rais'd many combuſtions in *Italy*, and was meditating to have brought the Infidels into *Italy*. For *Hercules D'Eſte* became ſo proud through the Alliance of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Elenor* in Marriage, that he loftily ſcorn'd the friendſhip of the *Venetians*, which the Dukes his predeceſſors had alwaies highly ſought for. He came to that degree of contempt, that he uſurp'd their Lands, abus'd their ſubjects, not conſidering the kindneſſes which he had receiv'd from the Republick, when after the death of his elder Brother, the Son of his other Brother took up

Arms

Arms to have depriv'd him of his Dominions. The *Venetians* could not brook the loftiness nor ingratitude of the Duke of *Ferrara*. They rais'd puissant Armies against him, and leagu'd themselves again with the Pope, who was displeas'd with the King of *Naples*, both because that Prince had retain'd in his service about four hundred *Turks* of the Garrison of *Otranto*, and because he took little care in his Kingdom of the duties of the Holy See.

Ferdinand sent *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* to the succour of *Hercules* his Son-in law, of whom the Common-wealth had got great advantages. *Alphonso* had already pass'd the Mark of *Ancona*, and was advancing with his forces toward the *Ferraras*'s, when the *Colonna*'s and *Cavelli*, who were risen up against the Pope, invited him to joyn with them in the *Compagna* of *Rome*. *Robert Malateste*, who commanded the Army of the Republick, was soon at his heels, gave him battel, and absolutely defeated him. Which Victory fill'd

fill'd the *Venetians* full of hopes, and undertakings, but while they ransack'd the *Ferrarese*, and were going to make themselves Masters of *Ferrara*, the Pope of a suddain abandons them, whether he were gain'd by the submissions of *Ferdinand*, or whether he were jealous of the Progress of the Republick. However it were, *Sixtus* agrees with the Father and Son in Law; He also threaten'd the *Venetians* with the indignation and *Anathema's* of the Church, if they continu'd the war of *Ferrara*.

The Republick incens'd at so strange a proceeding; and foreseeing that this change would cause a great disorder in affaires, implor'd the aid of the *Turk* to sustain themselves, and to revenge the injury done them. *Bajazet* who was unwilling to displease the *Venetians*, forgot that he had promis'd not to disturb the Christians; or rather violated his word in that respect, and prepares a considerable Fleet to invade *Italy*. The news presently spread it self over all *Europe*. At *Rome* the

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alarum was taken, as if the enemy had been already at the Gates; and the Pope foreseeing the danger of the Church, if the *Turks* should enter *Italy* during the discords of the Christian Princes, and knew himself to be guilty of the discontent of the Republick, made it his whole business to divert the storme. The King of *Naples*, whom the danger more nerely concern'd, follow'd the Popes steps, and by common consent had recourse to the Grand Master, to whom they both wrote, and sent to him the Knight *Carraffa*.

But never was Embassie more to less purpose; for the care of the Grand Master had prevented the requests of *Ferdinand* and the Pope. He understanding sooner then they, the preparations that were made at *Constantinople*, and likewise knowing the private motives to that Engagement, labour'd incessantly to divert the storme before it began to break forth. The Publick good, and the particular Interest of the Church excited his diligence to keep the com-

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most enemy out of *Italy*: And his obligations to the King of *Naples* made him more Solicitous to omit nothing that might preserve the Kingdom of his Benefactour and freind from the invasion of the *Barbarians*. Therefore not to loose time, he dispatch'd away to the Grand Signior a *Rhodian*, whose name was *Mosco Perpiano*; a man 'tis true of low birth, but of an exalted genius, and capable of great affaires; and besides that, very proper to negotiate with the *Turks*, as being one who had lived long in *Turky*, and perfectly understood their humour and language. And this was he that treated with the *Sub-Basha* of *Pizzona* about the truce, and first discover'd the cunning of *Achmat's* Letters.

Mosco, after he had made known to the Grand Signiour, with whom he had a private audience, the Interest of his Highness to live in freindship with the Grand Master gave him to understand by degrees, that the *Venetians* were about to engage him in a bad designe. To that intent,

tent, he represented to him that this great preparation was the ready way to bring upon him all the forces of *Europe*. That the most divided of the Christian Princes would not faile to reunite for the defence of their Religion and Crowns. That *France* who glory'd in assisting the Popes and the Holy See, would infallibly join with *Italy* upon such an occasion, and lay aside for a time their pretences to *Naples*. That whatever care the Knights could take, that they should not make use of the person of *Zizim* against the *Ottoman* Empire, it would not be any longer in their power to keep him. That the King of *France* would force him out of their hands in spite of all their strength, and put him at the head of an Army, and then nothing was more to be fear'd then a Popular rising at *Constantinople*, which might happen to be attended with a total revolution. *Mosco* added according to his Instructions, that the Grand Master being of that accompt as he was among the Christian Princes, he could

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could not possibly prevent his being engag'd in the Quarrel, how great so ever his desire might be to keep a good Correspondence with the Court. That if the preparations which the *Turks* made against *Italy* should infringe the accommodation which had been made upon *Zizim's* score, he had no reason to blame the Knights, who are ready punctually to observe all the articles of the treaty. *Mosco* then gave the Grand Signiour to understand that *Rhodes* was not in a condition to fear him, the ruins being repaird, and new fortifications daily added by the Grand Master.

This discourse of the *Rhodian* took singular effect. *Bajazet* was so mov'd at it, that he stood a good while without making any answer, casting frightful looks here and there, which shew'd the agitation and disturbance of his mind. At length rows'd out of a deep contemplation, and looking somewhat more calmely, he told *Mosco*, that in respect to the Grand Master, whom he ho-

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noured as his Father, he had abandon'd the design which he had in hand. Then calling for *Basha Misich Paleologus*, and two other of his Ministers, he declar'd that he would not send his Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea, and commanded them at the same time to surcease all their preparations for war wherein they labour'd with an excessive earnestness. And that he might testify more of his freindship, and do him more honour, he wrote him a very obliging Letter, which he deliver'd to *Mosco*, the copy whereof follows.

7883

Bajazet

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Bajazet *King of* Aſia, *Emperour of the* Turks.

To the thrice happy Prince. Peter D'Aubuſſon, *Grand Maſter of* RHODES.

WE have underſtood from the mouth of your Embaſſadour, 1484
what it is you requeſt at our hands. In truth you deſire great things, and which are of extream conſequence to our Empire. For a conſiderable Fleet is not to be ſet forth without great expence; nor is ſuch an enterprize to be quitted without ſome kind of diſgrace. But however, as I refer my ſelf wholly to your Counſel, and for that I can refuſe you nothing, for your ſake, I forget all my advantages. I

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surcease any further preparations, and engage to you upon my word, that my Navy shall not stir forth of the Streights *of* Gallipoly. *I do this willingly, out of the desire I have, that you should alwaies be my friend, as you ought to be, since that for your sake I renounce both my interest and my honour. From* Constantinople *the fifth of the month of* Rabi el Evel *in the year of the* Hegira, 889.

April 13. *in the year of grace,* 1484.

Mosco return'd to *Rhodes* almost at the same time that the Knight *Caraffa* arriv'd there. That new Embassador of the Pope, and the King of of *Naples* was surpriz'd to see that with all his haste he was come too late. So that finding his work done, he return'd as he came, at least that he might be the first that should bring the tydings, carrying along with him to the Pope and King *Ferdinand*, the Copy of the Letter of the Grand Signior. A resolution so sudden, and so happy, extreamly rejoyc'd all

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all *Italy*, and the Pope was so satisfi'd with the Grand Master, that speaking of him to the Knight *Quendal*, Procurator of the Order at *Rome*, he call'd him several times, *The Buckler of the Church*, and *The Preserver of Christendom*.

Nevertheless, the Christian Princes, whose Dominions were neighbouring upon the *Turk*, did not yet think themselves safe, fearing that *Bajazet* would not long keep his word. For that reason *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*, *Arragon* and *Sicily*, made it all their most earnest suit to the Grand Master to have *Zizim* in their power. He would by no means grant them their request; but he promis'd them that so long as he had the *Sultan* at his disposition, he would keep the Grand Signior from enterprizing any thing upon their Dominions.

Bajazet lookt upon this Refusal for a signal piece of service, and thought himself so oblig'd to the Grand Master, that he resolv'd to make him a considerable present as a mark

mark of his Gratitude. But not finding any thing of value enough to his mind amidst all the wealth of his Empire, he understood by some of his Renegado Confidents, that he could not make a more pleasing or acceptable present to the Grand Master, then the hand of St. *John Baptist*, which was then in his Father *Mahomet*'s Treasury.

The Grand Signior over-joy'd at such a discovery, caus'd the hand to be immediately sent for, together with the shrine wherein it was kept, and causing it to be put into a Cypress box lin'd within with Crimson Velvet, and set without with an infinite number of precious stones, he sent it by one of his favourites, call'd *Cariaty Bey*, with a Civil Letter, the Inscription whereof was thus.

Bajazet *King of* Asia, *and Emperor of the* Turks, *to the thrice wise, and thrice illustrious* Peter D'Aubusson, *Grand Master of* Rhodes, *thrice generous Prince, and Father of a most glorious Empire.*

This hand was said to be the right hand

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hand of *John the Baptist*, which was learnt out upon this occasion, if the Vice-Chancellour *Cacursin* may be believ'd.

It was an ancient Tradition confirm'd by the Histories of the *Greeks*, that St. *Luke* the Evangelist having embrac'd the Christian Faith, the love which he had conceiv'd for St. *John Baptist*, inspir'd him secretly to take up his body bury'd in the City of *Sebastia*, between *Eli* and *Abdias*. To this purpose he went thither with some of St. *John*'s Disciples, who were then living; but considering that they should hardly be able to carry the body away without being known and stopp'd, he cut off the hand that baptiz'd Christ, as the most noble part of the whole body, and carry'd it to *Antioch*, where he kept it all the while he stay'd there. But going to preach in *Bithinia*, he left the Relick with some of his most trusty friends still at *Antiochia*, where it was publickly ador'd for the space of three hundred years, till *Julian* the Apostate attempted to

abolish

aboliſh the worſhip and memory of Martyrs, burning what remain'd of them. Particularly, he caus'd this hand to be thrown into the fire; but the piety of particular perſons ſav'd it from the fury of the *Pagans* at that time.

In the time of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, to honour the Conſecration of *Santa Sophia*, the head of St. *John* was by the Emperour's command fetch'd from *Edeſſa*, and the hand from *Antioch*; though he return'd them again after the Conſecration was over. But in the time of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenites*, an Emperour, that was mighty devout, and had a huge fancy for this Relick, one *Job*, a Deacon of *Antioch*, ſtole this hand to preſent to the Emperour, who put it in the Church of St. *John, of the Stone*, where it remain'd till the time of *Mahomet* the ſecond, who remanded it into the Imperial Treaſure with other Relicks and rich ſhrines, out of which *Bajazet* took it to preſent to the Grand Maſter, who laid it up with great ceremony at *Rhodes*. Theſe

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Theſe Marks of affection which the *Ottoman* Emperour ſhew'd to the Grand Maſter, open'd the eyes of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*. That *Barbarian* had violated the Peace without any pretence, as we have ſaid; and his perfidiouſneſs carry'd him ſo far, as to ſtop the *Rhodians*, who traffick'd under the publick faith at *Alexandria*, and in other places of his Dominions. But now he began to alter his behaviour, when he ſaw the good correſpondence which was between the Port and the Order of St. *John*. The fear he had, leſt the Knights ſhould take a freſh revenge, made him before-hand in appeaſing them. To that end he ſent an Embaſſadour to *Rhodes* with rich preſents, and a very civil Letter, wherein he blam'd his paſt proceedings, and accus'd the folly he had committed. *Duan Aga*, for that was the Embaſſadour's name, did the beſt he could to enhance the value of his Maſter's preſents and excuſes. He promis'd ſolemnly an inviolable fidelity, and offer'd all ſorts of Pledges for performance.

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formance. Whatever resentment the Grand Master had of the Injuries of *Cairbei*, he said nothing then: for though he made little accompt of his promises; and judg'd of the future by what was past, he thought it not amiss to make his advantage of the present; and that which made him determine it the rather was, because he had intelligence, that *Bajazet* notwithstanding all his publick and specious demonstrations of Amity, had an inveterate enmity against the Order, not only because it protected his Brother *Zizim*, but also because he had obliged him to quit his design upon *Italy*. So that the little reliance which the Grand Master had upon the *Turkish* Faith, made him renew a peace with one that was openly perjur'd.

Now because the advice which they daily receiv'd at *Rhodes* of the ill intentions of *Bajazet* were every day confirm'd, the Grand Master thought it necessary to precaution himself against whatever might happen. He sent Barks into *Sicily* and the

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the Kingdom of *Naples* for Corn; he also made use of the seeming friendship of the Grand Signior, to fetch all sorts of grain out of the most fertile Countries of *Turky*, before the *Ottoman* Court had laid aside its Vizor, and had openly brok'n with the Order, he gave command at the same time to lade the great Ship of the Treasury, then upon the Coasts of *Provence*, with ammunition and souldiers, and that a great Vessel of *Ragusa*, then in the Port of *Rhodes*, should sail to *Samos* for wood proper to build the Ships and Engines of War. As for the fortifications, besides that he made all the ditches wider and larger; he rais'd new works toward the Sea, and among the rest a Ravelin that extended from the Tower of *Naylac*, to the Bulwark of *France*.

But while the Knights prepar'd for War in the midst of a profound Peace, *Sixtus* the fourth dy'd in the heat of the troubles of *Rome*, which the *Colonna*'s and *Ursini* had divided into two Factions.

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The Cardinal of *Santa Cecilia*, a *Genoese*, and of the house of *Cybo*, but originally of *Rhodes*, as being the place where his Father was born, succeeded *Sixtus* in the Government of the Church, by the name of *Innocent the Eighth*. He was no sooner elected, but he wrote to the Grand Master in such terms as shew'd a particular esteem for his person. Among other things he exhorted him to maintain generously the interest of the holy See, to shew himself an example to Christian Princes, and at last assur'd him of his favour. *The Order*, said the Pope in his Brief, *of which you are the Chief, is more dear to me then ever; and if God favour our designs, you shall alwaies find me ready to oblige you in whatever concerns yours, or the honour of the Order.*

The Grand Master receiv'd this Letter like a true Son of the Church; and presently sent his Embassadors to *Rome* to tender his obedience to the new Pope. *Edward de Carmandin*, Bayly of *Lango*, and *Will: Caoursin*, Vice

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Vice Chancellour of the Order were the chief of the Embassy; who made their entry into *Rome*, with an extraordinary Pomp, and five days after had audience of the Pope, in the presence of all the Princes, Embassadours, and a great number of prelates. *Caouersin*, in that renowned assembly made a speech full of piety and eloquence. He first acknowledg'd the authority of the holy See, and *Innocent* for the Vicar of Christ, and *Peters* successour. Then in particular he declar'd the Grand Master's joy for the election of his Holiness, and the hopes which the *Rhodians* had to see Christianism flourish under the pontificat of a Pope so zealous for the Christian faith. After that he recounted the victories which the Knights had obtain'd against the infidels, particularly in the last siege of *Rhodes*. And lastly he offer'd his Holiness the service of the Knights, assuring him that they should esteem themselves happy to spend their blood to the last drop in the defence of the Holy See.

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The Pope return'd an answer himself to *Caoursin*'s speech. Wherein after he had in general terms extold the valour and zeal of the Knights, he dilated upon the merits of the Grand Master, and confess'd that the Church was infinitely oblig'd to him. The next week the Embassadours had a particular conference with the Pope, at what time they presented to him a precious stone of an extraordinary figure and colour, several exquisite perfumes, and a rich Vase full of pure Indian Balsom. But the Pope who desir'd nothing more then to restore peace to *Italy*, and who fear'd nothing more then an invasion of the Infidels, turn'd his discourse upon *Zizim*, and told the Embassadours that for the good of Christendom it seemd very necessary that he should be brought to *Rome*, or to some other City of the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Embassadours not having any commission in that particular, they could return no answer, only that they would signify his Holiness's pleasure to

to the Grand Master. However they receiv'd several favours before their departure, & had the honour to carry his Canopy upon the purification of the Virgin, with the Embassadours of *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Florence*. But as a particular grace to the Order, he granted to the Prior of the Church of *Rhodes* a power to remit all sins which are reserv'd to the Holy See, to alter vows, to absolve from oaths, from Irregularity and Simony. He gave them liberty also to have a portative Altar to say Mass either by Sea or Land, as also before day, and in places forbidden by Ecclesiastical censure.

In the mean time the King of *Naples*, who after the death of *Sixtus*, was terribly afraid lest the *Venetians* should molest his dominions, and that the *Turk* should come to revenge their quarrel, desir'd more earnestly then ever to have *Zizim* in his possession. To which purpose he wrote new Letters to *Rhodes*, which he deliver'd to the Embassadours who pass'd through *Naples* in their return home.

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But while *Innocent* and *Ferdinand* demanded *Zizim* from the Grand Master, the *Soldau* of *Egypt* urg'd the same request. *Caerbei* had intelligence that the Great *Turk* was about to enter *Caramania* with a powerful Army to punish *Caraman*. So that he was afraid lest the *Turks* should soon after carry their arms into *Syria*; and he knew no other expedient to stop *Bajazet*, then to oppose *Zizim* against him. But the arrival of the Baily of *Lango*, and the Vice Chancellour of the order drew him out of that perplexity whereinto the Embassadour from *Egypt* had plung'd him; for when he understood the Popes Intentions, as to what concern'd *Zizim*, he gave the *Soldan*'s Embassadour to understand that the Soveraign Priest of Christendom having a designe to send for the *Ottoman* Prince to *Rome*, the Knights could not dispose of his person not determine any thing without the consent of the Holy See, to which the order of St. *John* was particularly subject. In the same man-

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ner he excus'd himself to King *Ferdinand*, accompanying his excuse with many civilities, not being willing to displease a Prince whom he could not gratify, yet desir'd to serve. But in regard he knew the Pope was not able with his forces alone to undertake any considerable enterprize; and believing withal, that should he send *Zizim* into the Ecclesiastical state, he should put an obstacle to the Holy league through the jealousies which the Christian Princes would be subject to apprehend, he represented to his Holiness withal the earnestness and respect that might be, that he could not let go *Zizim* without exposing Christendom to manifest misfortunes. That such a change would give suspition to *Bajazet*, and enforce him perhaps to put to Sea, and land in *Italy*. He added also that the Invasion of the Infidels was very much to be fear'd, before all *Europe* was first united against them. However that he would submit the affair to his Holiness whose prudence and justice he very well understood.

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It was about this time that the Grand Master did a very eminent piece of service for the *Genoeses* in protecting for them the Island of *Scio*, which was under their subjection, by the gift of *Andronicus Paleologus*, after they had restor'd him to his throne. For *Francis de Medicis* scourd all the Levant Seas with a well arm'd Galliot, and had taken considerable prizes from the *Turks* near the *Island* of *Scio*. The parties concern'd complain'd to the Cady of *Tire*, who was a person of great credit in the *Ottoman* Port, and orderd their business so well, either by presents or false testimonies, that the *Mahomet* Judge condemn'd the people of the Island to make good all the losses which the *Turks* had sustain'd, as if the Islanders had shar'd with the Galliot, because the Captain had taken in fresh provisions in the Island. The Grand Signior also confirms the *Cadi*'s sentence. But to chastize the Island the more severely, which at *Constantinople* was accompted a Receptacle for Theives and Pirates,

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Pirates, he laid upon them a most enormous tax, and threatn'd the Islanders with ruin, if they did not speedily pay it down. The inhabitants resolv'd to justify themselves at the Port, and to represent humbly to the Grand Signior their inability to pay such great sums. But the *Barbarian* would hearken neither to their reasons not their prayers, and commanded his Vassels to go and sack *Scio*.

The Islanders had bin lost without hope, if the wisest of the Company had not adviz'd them to have recourse to the Grand Master. There upon they earnestly besought him to be their protectour at such a time of calamity wherein only his authority could save them.

The Grand Master hated, too much, injustice and violence, to suffer the oppression of a poor people that were altogether Innocent, and were not in a condition to defend themselves. Thereupon he wrote to the Port, and did it so effectually, that *Bajazet* cancell'd the Judgment, and remit-

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ned the Tax which himself had impos'd.

Cardinal *Paul Fregosa*, Duke of *Genoa* immediately return'd thanks to the Grand Master in a very civil Letter. But the Lords *Moneſi*, who were the chief in *Scio*, and happen'd to be at *Genoa* at the same time, deputed Signior *Lanfranco Patera*, a person of quality and merit to carry him a testimony of their Gratitude. It was a Bason and Eure of Gold of exquisite workmanship, on which these Latine words were graven.

Dominorum Chii Reverendiſſimo Petro D'Aubuſſon, *MAGNO MAGISTRO RHODI, DE SE OPTIME MERITO DONVM.*

Much

Much about the same time the Grand Master receiv'd Intelligence of the death of *Charlota de Lusignan* Queen of *Cyprus* and *Armenia*. This unfortunate Princess was constrain'd to quit *Rhodes*, and travel to *Rome*, as I have already said in the beginning of this History. Pope *Sixus* the fourth receiv'd her magnificently, and undertook her interest very zealously; so that he perswaded the chief of the Island more then once to acknowledg her for their Soveraign Queen. The Letters from his Holiness were read publickly at *Nicosia* before the Church of *Santa Sophia*, and made so deep an Impression upon their spirits, that the people took Arms, ran in throngs to the Pallace, and massacr'd the Uncles of *Katherine Cornara*, who were accused to have poyson'd *James* of *Lusignan* her husband. But the *Venetians* by whose authority *Katherine* raign'd, or rather who rul'd under the name of *Katherine*, appeas'd the sedition and quickly master'd it.

Charlota seeing that all the solicita-

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licitations of the Pope, produc'd no good for her, went to *Lewis* her husband in *Piemont*. The Lord of *Montjeu*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* sent Embassadour to *Venice*, gave a visit to *Lewis* and *Charlota* at *Montcalier*, where they liv'd, and promis'd them according to the Instructions he had receiv'd from his Master, to represent their rights to the Senate. But all his Remonstrances proving ineffectual, the Princess return'd to *Rome*, and there settl'd herself after the death of *Lewis*, who piously ended his days in a kind of solitude, whither he was retir'd. She superviv'd him some years, and during her widowhood she gave the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* her Nephew, to whom it otherwise belong'd by the articles of marriage between *Charlota* and *Lewis*. This Donation was solemnly made to the procuratours of *Charles*, of the number of which was the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and by vertue of this Act it is, that the Dukes of *Savoy* take upon them the Title of

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of Kings, and pretend to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*.

The news of her death sensibly griev'd the Grand Master, who had always lookt upon her as one of the most accomplish'd Princesses of the world,

In the mean time the Emperour of the *Turks*, having rais'd a numerous Army, and made himself Master almost without any trouble of those Provinces that were left the Grand *Caraman*, he turn'd his Arms against *Syria* and *Egypt*, incens'd at the *Soldan*, for that he had with disdain deny'd him the wife and children of *Zizim*. For how false soever he were in other respects, he was faithful in that, out of I know not what fantastick piece of honesty; which shews us that men are sometimes contrary to themselves, and that the wicked, like mad men, have their lucid Intervals.

Now, though the preparations all over *Turky* seem'd only to bend against the Dominions of *Cairbei*, yet the King of *Hungary* took the Alarum.

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rum. And as thunder when at first it begins to grumble in the clouds, seems to threaten most they that hear it neerest; this Prince probably thought the Tempest would fall upon him, if he took not care in time to divert it. Yet as great a Souldier, and as a Potent as *Matthias* was, he thought that the Grand Master would be a necessary assistance to him; for which purpose he sent to him *Pauli de Rhetas*, his Secretary and his favourite.

Rhetas declar'd at the first Audience which he had at *Rhodes*, that the King of *Hungary* was resolv'd to make War against the *Turks*, and in prosecution thereof, neither to spare his treasure, nor his life; and therefore desir'd to joyn his Arms with those of the Knights of St. *John*, but above all to follow the Counsels of the Grand Master in an enterprize of so much hazard and difficulty. The *Hungarian* Embassadeur likewise added, that his Master had private correspondence with the Grandees of the Port, that several *Bassa*'s had

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had resolv'd to forsake *Bajazet*'s Party, so soon as *Zizim* should appear upon the Confines of *Hungary*, and at the head of the *Hungarian* Troops. That the interest of Christendom requir'd that he should send the *Ottoman* Prince in all haste; and that it was a favour which a King illustrious for his piety and his valour requested from the most generous Knights in the world.

The Proposal of *Rhetas* seem'd rational to the Grand Master and his Council. But there are certain nice conjunctures wherein the wisest of men cannot follow sometimes neither the common Rules of Prudence, not their own particular Judgments. Though to all outward appearances, and upon a serious consideration of the bottom of things, it had been but reason to have trusted *Zizim* with the King of *Hungary*; yet the engagement which oblig'd the Grand Master to keep the Prince by vertue of the Treaty of Peace made with the Port, according to the Prince's own desire, and the fear of offending his Holiness, were

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the cause that the *Hungarian* Embassadour could obtain no other answer then a handsom denial. However, the Grand Master wrote to the King: and after he had insisted a while in particular upon the Advantage which Christendom might receive from the person of *Zizim*, in case that *Bajazet* should make any attempt against the Treaty, he told him that it being impossible for any War to be carried on against the *Turk*, without a firm league between the Christian Princes, it belonged to the common Pastor of the Church to assemble them together.

That such sort of enterprises seldom prosper'd, unless upheld by the Authority of the Church; and lastly, that if the *Ottoman* Prince were to leave *France*, he could be no where better then at *Rome*, where he would be in the view of all Christendom. neither too far off, nor too near the Estates of the Grand Signior.

The Conquest which *Bajazet* had made of *Caria*, and of other Provinces of the Grand *Caraman*, made the

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the *Soldan* to believe that after he had refus'd to *Bajazet* the Wife and Children of *Zizim*, that he was certainly to expect the *Turkish* Army at his own doors. And therefore whatever strength the *Cairbie* had, he thought himself but weak without the assistance of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. For that reason, to engage them to his Interests he dispatch'd to *Rhodes*, *Riccio de Marini*, a Gentleman of *Cyprus*, and the same person who formerly came to serve Queen *Charlotta* against the Republick of *Venice*. *Marini* had Instructions to declare to the Knights that the advantages which they had gain'd in so many encounters against the *Turks*, put the *Soldan*, in hopes of a happy success, provided they would embrace his quarrel, and that he should think himself invincible, if he could but have Prince *Zizim* at the head of his Troops.

The Grand Master sensible of the generous proceeding of *Cairbei* toward *Zizim*, almost forgot the ill usage which the *Rhodians* had received

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ceiv'd at his hands; and therefore he very civilly testified to his Embassadour, that he was very much troubl'd that the present condition of the *Rhodian* Affairs would not permit him to assist *Egypt*. That the Knights of *Rhodes* had made a peace with the *Turks*, and that they alwaies religiously observ'd the faith of Treaties. But in regard the Grand Master desir'd nothing more then to see two potent enemies of Christianity destroy one another, he added that since the refusal of *Zizim*'s Wife and Children, was the only cause of *Bajazet*'s anger, it was his advice that the *Soldan* should go on with the War, not doubting but that Heaven would favour so just a Cause as his. As for *Zizim*, whom the *Soldan* requested, he told the Embassadour at length, that he could conclude nothing without advice from *Rome*. But that he would write to the Pope, and signific to him that the *Soldan* had provok'd *Bajazet* to make War upon him only for detaining and preserving the Wife and Children

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Children of *Zizim*; unwilling to sacrifice to his Brothers fury what *Zizim* had most dear in the world.

The Grand Master's answer satisfi'd the *Egyptians*, and rais'd their courages, which the defeat of the Grand *Caraman*, their neighbour, had almost dejected. For the *Ottoman* Army consisting of a hundred thousand men, being got by several ways into *Caramania*, and having quarter'd themselves between *Pyramus*, the *Sar* and *Cidnus* neat the old Castle of *Adena*, and the ruins of the ancient City of *Tarsus*, the *Egyptian* forces, that were not above fifty thousand strong, presented themselves in view of the *Turks* upon the banks of *Pyramus*, after they had cross'd with an extraordinary swiftness the famous streights that separate *Syria* from *Caramania*. The Souldiers that compos'd the *Egyptian* Army, were call'd *Corcassian Mamalucks*, all Christians that had renounc'd their Religion, or else never profess'd any, being ravish'd from their Mothers breasts, and bred

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up in War from their Infancy. The Eunuch *Baſha*, General of the *Turkiſh* Army, gave them no time to reſt, but attacqu'd them with fifty thouſand Horſe before they had time to underſtand the Ground. It was in one of thoſe plaines that extend to the Mountain *Aman*, and where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*, that the Captain of the *Spahi*'s having paſs'd the *Pyramus* over the Bridg of *Adena*, went on to aſſail the *Mamalukes*. Wearied as they were, they bore with an extraordinary vigour the firſt brunt, and fell on with ſuch fury, that the Aſſailants were fore'd to defend themſelves. After an obſtinate fight which Night parted, the *Mamalukes* remain'd Maſters of the Field. Above thirty thouſand *Turks* were ſlain upon the place, the reſt ſav'd themſelves in the Mountains, or elſe retir'd to the Caſtle of *Adena*, which they had fortifi'd a little before, though it were taken ſoon after by the Victors.

But that which made this victory more compleat was, that the ſame day,

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day, ten Gallies which *Achmat Basha*, the Grand Signiours Son in Law, and Admiral at Sea, had sent from the rest of the fleet to waft the Coast of *Syria*, were overtaken by a furious tempest, and dash'd against the Rocks. This misfortune constrain'd *Achmat* to return to *Constantinople* with the rest of the fleet. Passing through the Channel of *Rhodes*, in view of the City, not content to salute the Knights by discharging all his great Guns, he resolv'd to shew their Captain a particular Kindness. For having set up a magnificent *Pavilion* in one of the fairest of his Gallies, adorn'd with a great number of rich Pendants and Banners, he sent a young *Turk* his Favourite, call'd *Osman*, to visit the Grand Master on his behalf. The Gally enter'd the Port with the sound of Trumpets and Drums, mix'd with the joyful acclamations of the *Turks* that attended *Osman*. They were all richly habited, not had they the faces of men that made a shameful retreat. When the young *Turk* came

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into the Grand Masters presence, he saluted him after the *Mussulman* fashion, and presented him a Letter wherein the *Basha* made him a thousand protestations of friendship and service. Afterwards having presented him with several stuffs of great value, and several rare pieces of workmanship, he told him with a good grace, that such a small present was not worth the famous Prince of the *Rhodians*. The Grand Master would not be behind either in civility or liberality toward the *Barbarians*; for besides the Caresses and the entertainment which he gave to *Osman*, he sent one of his most Illustrious Commanders with all sort of refreshments for the fleet, and rich presents for himself.

Scarce was *Osman*, who staid not above 3 hour in *Rhodes*, joyn'd with the fleet, but the Grand Master had Intelligence of their defeat, of which he heard not a word from them; the spies which he had in most parts of *Caramania*, and even in the Castle of *Adena* it self, giving him an exact

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accompt hereof. Besides, that the *Soldan* himself, well satisfi'd with the advantage he had won with his own forces, fail'd not in honour of his dignity, to give him a relation himself, as the person who had foretold his success. But this prosperity did not blind *Cairbey*, who knew it was not enough to vanquish, unless he made advantage of his victory. To this purpose he thought that an Embassie to the Pope might produce good effects, and he communicated his thoughts to the Grand Master, not daring to enterprise such a thing without his counsel, nor hoping to obtain his desires without his intercession.

In the mean while the Pope, who made it his business to unite the Christian Princes against the *Turk*, was every day extraordinarily pressing for the removal of *Zizim*, and he began to talk somewhat like a Commander. For how mild and moderate soever *Innocent* might be in his particular conduct, he was jealous of his authority, and would

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make himself to be obeyd, when he acted for the publick good. The Grand Master, who knew what obedience he and the rest of the Knights ow'd to the Pope, as head of the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, was not desirous to stay for an express command. He therefore gave *Zizim* to understand the intentions of his holiness and finding the Princes inclination, he resolv'd at length to consent to what he could not handsomly avoid.

Besides that policy requir'd that he should gratify his Holiness, other reasons perswaded him to take that course. For the blow that the *Turks* had receiv'd, had put *Constantinople* into an uproar, and weak'ned the *Ottoman* Empire. *Bajazet* was not in a condition to enterprize any thing against the Christians, being in continual fear of the *Mahometans* after the *Soldan*'s victory. He was in hopes that the Christian Princes would open their eyes upon such a fortunate conjuncture, and that they would league themselves against the

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the common enemy, when they saw *Sultan Zizim* in the hands of the common Father of the faithful; besides that *Innocent* had good intentions, and only design'd to have *Zizim* in *Italy*, not pretending to have him at his disposal. *Zizim* also himself began to be aweary of solitude, and design'd to change his residence.

All these considerations engag'd him to send to *Rome* the Baily of the *Morea*, and the Vice Chancellour of the Order, with an ample procuration as to this affair. The Embassadours being arriv'd, and having had audience of the Pope consented to the removal of *Zizim*, provided the King of *France* did not oppose it, and that the Knights of *Rhodes* might always attend him. *Charles* the 8th, who stood in need of the Pope for the Conquest of *Naples*, readily consented to his Holiness desire, who wrote very urgent Letters to him for that purpose. And the Pope easily granted what the Knights requested, being perswaded of the

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good Intentions of the Grand Master, and only as he did, aiming at the publick benefit.

Thus the Commander *Blanchefort*, in his absence elected Marshal of the Order, and Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, brought away *Zizim* from the commandery of *Burgueuf*, according to the Letters directed to him from the Grand Master. The Prince was conducted by land to *Marseilles*, where the Great Ship of the Order attended him. By the way, he testifi'd more then once, that he was very glad he was going to *Rome*, after six years stay in *France*, and he requested the Knights not to forsake him. The voyage was not very fortunate; for never did the Sea of *Genoa* rage more, as if the winds had endeavour'd to drive *Zizim* back from the coasts of *Italy*. Nevertheless, maugre the storm, he arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia*, the sixth of *March*. 1489.

1489

Leonard Cybo, the Popes Kinsman, was come to receive the Prince, and he acquitted himself very well

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of his commission: Putting into the hands of the grand Prior *Blanchefort* the Castle of the Town, which was appointed for the lodging of *Zizim*, in order to the promise which the Pope had made to the *Rhodian* Embassadours.

The Pope was very joyful for the arrival of the *Turkish* Prince, which inspir'd him with new thoughts of kindness for the Grand Master, that appear'd publickly three days after; for the Pope honour'd him with a Cardinals Cap in a new promotion upon the ninth of *March*. He gave him the Title of St. *Adrian*, and to render his purple more illustrious, he added to it by his express Bulla the Title of Legate General of the holy See in *Asia*.

The Cardinal *D'Angers*, venerable for his Age, and for his vertue as well as for his Purple, and in whom fortune shews that a low extraction sometimes serves to exalt great Merit, went to meet *Zizim* twelve miles out of *Rome*, with Prince *Francis Cybo* the Son of *Innocent*, who had bin mar-

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ry'd before he entr'd into holy Orders, and Son in law to the famous *Laurence de Medici.* They saluted the Prince in the name of the Pope, and in such termes, as testifi'd no less affection for his person, then respect to his birth, and taking upon him themselves to be his guide, they brought him straight to *Rome.*

Dominico Doria, Captain of the Popes Guards, stay'd for him on horseback without the City, accompani'd by a great number of considerable persons without the City, neer the Gate of St. *Sebastian*; that being the Gate through which the Prince made his entry. The *Turks* who serv'd him, and all his other *Domestiks* march'd first; the *Cardinals* Gentlemen next to them, follow'd by all the *Roman* Nobility, that never were more lively, nor better mounted. Then appear'd *Doria* at the head of his light horse, follow'd by the Knights of *Rhodes*, after whom rode the Embassadours of the several Princes, all but of *France* who with Prince *Francis Cybo*, the Grand Prior

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Prior *Blanchefort*, and the Senator of *Rome* immediately preceded *Zizim*. He rode alone, mounted upon a ſtately horſe, which he manag'd with a comly Grace. He was clad, as uſually the *Turkiſh* Emperours are upon ſolemn days. His countenance was haughty and majeſtick, which being temper'd with a ſweet melancholy, attracted all at once reſpect, compaſſion and love. His Holineſs ſteward follow'd behind with an innumerable company of Prelates that belong to the Popes houſe. And in this order they came to the Vatican.

The Cardinal of *Angers*, who had taken his leave with in two miles of the Town upon pretence of going to advertiſe the Pope of his approach, but indeed becauſe he would not be one of the *Cavalcade*, either becauſe of his dignity or his age, met him at the Gate of the place, and conducted him to the apartiment of Pope *Clement*, where the Grand Maſter *Raymund Zacoſta* held a General Chapter of the Order under the

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the Pontificate of *Paul* the 2d.

The day following the Grand Prior *de Blanchefort*, and the Embassadours of *France*, conducted him to his audience of the Pope in a full consistory. They had advertiz'd him that it was the custom to kiss the feet of his Holiness, and the greatest Kings in the World thought it no dishonour to condescend so far. But he had much adoe to stoop to that condescention; and some say that all he could be brought to, was to bow to kiss the Popes hand. He saluted the Cardinals after a manner that was neither humble nor disdainful, but as became a person of so high an extraction. Though he were born eloquent, and at other times spake very fluently, yet he only spoke four or five words very briskly, and those in *Turkish*, whether it were that the luster of so famous an assembly dazzld him, or whether he thought it below the Majesty of an *Ottoman* Prince to make a long discourse. *George Juxi* a *Rhodian* his interpreter declar'd, that

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that he only said, he was extreamly glad to see *Rome*.

Innocent, whose head was full of high designes, and who aim'd at no less then to free the Orient from the Tyranny of the Infidels, promis'd to himself a most happy success, at the sight of *Sultan Zizim*, and believ'd that the Son of *Mahomet* was sent him from Heav'n to be serviceable to him; for that purpose the Embassy also which he receiv'd at the same time from the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, strengthen'd his hopes. For *Cairbei*, at the perswasion of the Grand Master did homage to the Holy See, and engaging to enter into the Holy League, promis'd to set forth the most puissant Army that ever march'd out of *Egypt*.

His Holiness was so sensible of these high services of the Grand Master, that to manifest to all the world how much he was satisfi'd, and to bestow upon him in particular the solid marks of his favour, he granted him an extraordinary privilege, so much the more considerable, because

cause he parted from his own right in granting it.

The Popes in possession were to provide for several benefices of the Order of *Rhodes* and they claim'd that right by the authority which they have in general over all Religious Orders, and in particular over that of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. This right did *Innocent* renounce by a consistorial Bull sign'd by all the Cardinals, depriving the See of ever conferring any commandery of the Order, though the benefice should happen to be vacant in the Court of *Rome*, and declaring withal by the same Bull, that the dispofal of all commanderies absolutely belong'd to the Grand Master, without being compriz'd under such benefices as the Popes had reserv'd, or might hereafter reserve.

He also granted to the Grand Master the power absolutely to dispose of the benefices and military Revenus of the Holy Sepulcher, and St. *Lazarus*, uniting those Orders again to that of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*

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him by an expreſs Bull, wherein his Holineſs himſelf made a particular Elogium upon the Grand Maſter and the Knights.

The Grand Maſter who now began to intitle himſelf Cardinal, Grand Maſter, was extremely ſenſible of all theſe favours which he never requeſted, and believ'd to be above his merit, accompting as nothing what he had done, and daily accuſing himſelf that he had not fulfill'd the duties of his calling and his truſt. He ſolemnly receiv'd the Cap in the Church of St. *John* Baptiſt upon St. *Peter* and *Pauls* day; and he was at the ſame time proclaim'd Univerſal Legat of the *See* in *Aſia*.

Theſe favours and new dignities put the Grand Maſter upon new cares and aſſiduities. And in regard the revenues of the Order were very much encreas'd by the addition of the Orders of the Holy Sepulcher and St. *Lazarus*, he appli'd himſelf preſently to the ſettlement of the treaſury; and he made very wiſe laws for the good government of the publick re-

venue

venue, as may be seen in the Book of the statutes of the Order. He made other laws touching elections and Sentences, which are observ'd to this day, full of prudence and Justice.

But the peaceable state of affairs, together with new accessions of wealth and plenty, gave the Master opportunity to rebuild the ruin'd Churches, and among others that of St. *Anthony*, which was the burying place for the Knights, and which he himself had caus'd to be pull'd down for the safety of the City. It was built in another place much more magnificent then before.

Some years ere that he had founded a Chappel under the Name of the Holy Virgin, in the Church of *Monteil-au Vicomte*, the place of his birth; but understanding that the building remain'd unfinish'd, he assign'd a certain stock of mony to go on with the work, and perfect it. He also founded several others in the Island of *Rhodes*, and one in the Church of Mount *Palermus*, to increase the devotion of the people. But

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But these were not the principal Employments of the Cardinal Grand Master; for when he saw himself cloth'd with the Purple Robe, he thought himself more than ever oblig'd to serve the Holy See, as he had suddenly several important occasions to do.

It is impossible to imagine what was the extreme surprize and disconsolation of *Bajazet*, when he understood, that his Brother was at *Rome*. He had understood before, that such a design was in hand; and because there was nothing that he feared more, to send off that blow, he made great offers to *Charls* the 8*th*. Besides that he promised him all the Relicks that his Father had found in *Constantinople*, and in other Cities of *Europe* and *Asia*, he engaged to send him all his Forces for the recovery of the Holy Land, which was under the Dominion of the Soldan of *Egypt*, and to pay him what-ever he demanded for the maintenance of *Zizim*. But these propositions took no effect;

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for *Zizim* was not in *France* when the Ambassadors arrived.

The Grand Seignior's vexation redoubled, when he understood what Confederacies the Pope and the Soldan had made together. He loudly complained of the Conduct of the Grand Master, and by an expres Ambassador he bloodily reproached, even to threaten him, that he would never observe any Laws of Civility with men, that did not keep their word. As fierce as the Grand Master was, he did not always give way to his Passion; for when affairs required moderation, there was no person more tractable, nor more condescending than he. Therefore to appease *Bajazet* at a time, when it was not for the good of Christendom to exasperate him, he gave him to understand, That the removal of *Zizim* did not at all injure the Treaty of Peace, the Tenor of which was, in respect of the Sultan, That the Knights should be answerable for his Person, and should do their utmost, that he

he should not fall into the hands of any Prince. He assur'd him, that *Zizim* was in *Italy*, under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, as he was in *France*, and that no Prince could call himself Master of his Person. He added also, That the change of his Residence was by the absolute order of those whom the Knights were bound to obey. Besides, that this change, if rightly consider'd, had nothing in it but what was advantageous to the Port: That *Charles* the Eighth, a Person of great designs, might have taken *Zizim* out of the Commanderie of *Bourgneuf*, when-ever he had had occasion to make use of him; whereas being in the Pope's power, he could make no advantage of him. In regard that not having a power sufficient of himself, it was absolutely necessary for him to joyn with other Princes, if he intended to carry a War out of *Italy*. That an Union was a difficult affair, and such a one as required long time, as being oftentimes crossed by the jealousies

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of Princes; and at this time impossible, because of their divisions.

The Grand Master declared moreover, That *Bajazet* had nothing to fear, while he kept himself quiet; but the least motion against *Italy* would awake all the Princes of Christendom, and enforce them to an Union against him. That now the best course he could take, was, to manage his business in *Italy*, to break the Correspondencies of the Soldan. That an Ambassador of the Port would be well received at *Rome*, and that he was onely there to seek for the success of his affairs.

The Grand Seignior, who was not then in a condition to be revenged for the breach of word, which he pretended, and found probability enough in the Grand Master's Reasons, never stood long to consider what he had to do: He resolved to be quier, and to follow the counsel which had been given him touching an Embassie to *Rome*. But that he might know more exactly what he had to say to the Pope,

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Pope, and after what manner he ſhould proceed, ſent another Ambaſſador to the Grand Maſter. This Negotiation continued ſeveral months, in which time there were nothing but continual Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Rhodes*. The Grand Maſter however put no confidence in theſe Embaſſies, but expected a Rupture, ſo ſoon as *Bajazet* ſhould have an opportunity to diſplay his ſecret hatred againſt the Knights; and therefore that the Pope might have time to make a League between the Chriſtian Princes, he ſpun out affairs as much as he could, either by creating difficulties, which perplexed the Grand Seignior, or by giving ambiguous Anſwers, which were unſatisfactory.

While things thus paſſed between the Knights and the Turks, one of the Popes Legates had like to have ſpoiled all by his imprudence. *Philip de Canova*, whom the Pope ſent to the Soldan, being arrived at *Caire*, publickly declared very idly, and without any ground, That the

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Knights of *Rhodes* had no power in the affair of *Zizim*. He spoke this so openly, and upon so many occasions, that the report thereof came to the Port. This news cool'd the Grand Seignior as to any further Negotiation with *Rhodes*, now growing jealous that the Knights did but abuse him; and it had come to an open War, had not the Grand Master dextrously reconcil'd what the Legat had spoil'd: He declar'd so loudly the contrary, and by the Popes Letters themselves so well over-turn'd the falsity that *Canova* had avert'd, that, in a short time, he regain'd the former confidence which *Bajazet* had in him. The Negotiation was renew'd, and it was on both sides agreed, that the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who was come to *Rhodes*, to be present at the General Chapter, and was to return to *Zizim*, should conduct the Ambassador of the Port, that was to go to *Rome*.

An act so dextrous, and so successful, soon made a noise over *Europe*,

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Europe, and very much advanc'd the Reputation of the Grand Master; He was the discourse of all the Courts of *Europe*, and his name was so famous in that of *Castile*, that a young Lady of eminent Quality, having forsaken the World, admiring what she had heard of the prudence and virtue of Cardinal *D' Aubusson*, resolv'd to found a Nunnery according to his Model of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*: To which purpose, she requested leave of the Cardinal; who over-joy'd to see such pious and virtuous inclinations in a young Lady, readily condescended. Thereupon the Lady, whose name was *Isabella di Leon*, descended from one of the most antient Families in *Andalousia*, founded a House of Religious Virgins, of the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*; and the Founder was named Princess by the Grand Master, the Nuns are to be all of Noble Race, and to be approved as the Knights are; and they are particularly to pray for the Knights, and, as much as in

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them lies, to forward the ruine of *Mahumetism*, and the exaltation of the Faith. *Isabella Fernandes* founded also another House of Nuns in *Evora*, a City of *Portugal*, in the time of *Villerius*, Grand Master.

But to return to *Bajazet*, *Chamubuerch* his *Capigi Basha*, his Ambassador to the Pope, arrived at *Rome*, and was presented to his Holiness by the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, who accompani'd him to the City. The Grand Master, when he counselled the Embassie, advised the Grand Seignior to make a Present to the Pope, and above all things to send him the Head of the Lance that pierced the side of Christ, which *Mahumet* laid up in in his Treasury among the rich Spoils which he found in the Churches of *Constantinople*. The Relick was suspected at first, but upon the testimony of the Grand Master, the Infidels were believed, who testifi'd, that he had had it from very credible persons, that the *Venetians* had offered *Mahomet* 15000 Crowns in Gold,

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Gold to retrieve it out of his hands, after the taking of *Conſtantinople*.

But in regard it was the intention of the Grand Seignior wholly to gain the Pope, he added to his Preſent very obliging Letters, wherein, after he had given him an account of an Expedition which he had made againſt the Rebels of *Macedonia*, he ſwore an inviolable friendſhip with him, and beſought him, that his Brother *Zizim* might always remain under the Guard of the Knights of *Rhodes*, according to the Articles he had made with them.

Theſe ſubmiſſions of *Bajazet* very much pleaſed the Pope, and were no ſmall honour to the Grand Maſter: He had a thouſand Applauſes in *Italy*, and received the Complements of all the Chriſtian Princes. But an unhappy accident did not long permit him quietly to enjoy this Honour; for a young Gentleman, of a good Houſe, who was then in the ſervice of the Knight *Puis*, Bayliff of the *Morea*, and Captain of the Caſtle of St. *Peter*, ſtealing away

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away from his Masters House, and having renounced his Religion in *Turkey*, the Peace was just upon the point of being broken between the Christians and the Turks.

For the Bayliff of the *Morea*, touched to the quick at what had befall'n his Page, took a strange resolution to recover him; he Sallies out of the Castle with some Soldiers, and entring into *Lycia*, he takes, by way of Reprisal, two young Turks, Sons of the most considerable person in the Countrey, notwithstanding the resistance made by their Father, whom he slew with his own hand. So violent an act seemed to the Barbarians a visible breach of the Peace. They take Arms, and march directly to the Castle of St. *Peter*, whither the *Bayliff* of the *Morea* was retired with his Prey. The Sultan *Zalim*, the Grand Seignior's Son, and Governour of *Lycia*, sent an Agent to *Rhodes*, to complain of the Attempt made by the Knights of the Castle of St. *Peter*. The Bayliff's act

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act was neither prudent nor just, for that the Grand Master could not but, with sorrow, very much resent it: and he had not stuck a moment to have delivered both the Children back again, but that one of them testified an inclination to turn Christian. But the young *Turk* declaring, that he was resolved to continue a *Mussulman*, and hated the very thought of Christianity, the Governour of *Lycia* was satisfied with the restoration of the two Prisoners.

Thus was the Tranquility of the Province re-settled, nor had the Subjects any thing more to fear, but onely the Rapines of certain Pirats that infested their Coasts; the most famous was *Don Diego Ordonna*, a Spaniard by Nation, a person bold and daring, of a savage humour, and a bestial valour, more barbarous than the Infidels, cruising all Coasts with an Armed Caravel, and acknowledging no Right but Force, nor any God but Interest. He had taken a little before certain Merchants Ves-

sels

sels within sight of *Rhodes*; and his power at Sea was grown so formidable, that the Ships of the Order durst hardly venture out of the Port.

The Grand Master could not brook the Insolencies and Robberies of this *Castilian* Pirate. And knowing that *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, who were then subduing the *Moors*, did not allow a *Castilian* Pirate to be so vexatious to the Christians; he sent against him the Knight *Raymond Thivian* with his Galley, and another Man of War with a Crew of stout Knights; who coming up with this Pirate, pli'd him so warmly, that he was constrained to yield, after a vigorous resistance: he was brought to *Rhodes* chain'd hand and foot, and afterwards broken alive upon the Wheel; his Goods, that were Confiscated to the Grand Master, were, by his order, distributed to the Merchants that he rob'd.

The Island of *Lango* was, about this time afflicted with several calamities together; a horrible and sud-

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ſudden Earthquake, that laſted for ſeveral days, threw down moſt part of the houſes in the Countrey of *Naranga*; and what was more lamentable, this calamity happen'd in a time, that a dreadful Contagion over-ſpread the Iſland. It is not to be imagin'd how much the Grand Maſter was afflicted for the miſeries of theſe poor people, nor how great his cares were for their relief. He ſent two great Veſſels, laden with all neceſſaries, for their ſupport, and cauſed the Lake of *Naranga* to be ſpeedily cleanſed, and the Tyde to be let into it, to carry away the noiſome Vapours that might corrupt the air. And ſo well his pains ſucceeded, that the Contagion ceas'd ſo ſoon as the Lake was cleanſed.

But theſe employments at home, did not make the Grand Maſter forget his affairs abroad: He continually ſollicited the Pope to pacifie *Italy*; and he beſought him ſtill to conclude, with all the ſpeed that might be, a League between the Chri-

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Christian Princes. But all these solli-citations and prayers took no effect. *Innocent* died of a sudden, and all those hopes that all good men had conceived died with him. The ad-
26 aug. 1492 vancement of *Roderic Borgia*, by the name of *Alexander* the Sixth, little avail'd to comfort the Grand Master for the loss which the Church had received. The humour of the new Pope promised little good to Christendom; for there was little good to be expected from a person, who had purchased the Suffrages of the Cardinals to enjoy a place, of which he knew himself unworthy. He had been Protector of the Or-der of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* while he was Cardinal, and by a Brief which he sent to the Grand Master, he declar'd, That the Knights of *Rhodes* should still be in his most favourable thoughts. But the Ef-fects were no way answerable to his words. *Alexander* first shewed his Pontifical Authority, by taking into his own possession the Person of Prince *Zizim*, contrary to the Agree-ment

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ment made between *Innocent* and the Knights. He ſhut up the *Sultan* the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and diſmiſſing the Knights who had always been about him, put him into the poſſeſſion of his Nephews, of which one was a Knight of *Rhodes*. His pretence was, that a life ſo pretious as that of the Prince, would be leſs expoſed to the Ambuſcado's of his Enemies in a ſtrong place; and that one Knight of *Rhodes* being near him, the reſt were needleſs in a place that did defend it ſelf: and theſe excuſes he ſent by an Expreſs to the Grand Maſter. But the true motive that induc'd the Pope to this act, was, becauſe that underſtanding the King of *France* was preparing for an Expedition into *Italy*, he would have wherewithall to croſs or promote his deſigns, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for his Intereſts. For *Charles* the VIII. did not onely intend the Conqueſt of *Naples*; for Fame every where reported, that he was reſolved to have carried his Arms into *Greece*. Whether this deſign

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design were onely in thought, or actually intended, I will not dispute; but certain it is, that he communicated it to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the Affairs of the Order enforced to travel out of *Italy* into *France*; and he testifi'd several times the earnest desire he had to see the Grand Master, that he might consult with him about a Voyage beyond the Seas.

Zizim was extremely displeas'd to see himself in the hands of *Alexander*, and under the Guard of his Nephews, being always accustom'd to the Knights who had accompani'd him both in *France* and *Italy*. As they had always great respect for him, and, in serving him, had always sought to make his condition more pleasant; he lov'd them tenderly, and could not chuse but shed tears when he took his leave of them. He did for them all that lay in the power of his Fortune; he wrote to the Grand Master in their behalf, representing to him the value of their services, and assuring him,

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him, that what ever favours he beſtowed upon them, he would put upon his own account, as done to himſelf. He beſought him likewiſe not to abandon an unfortunate perſon, who ow'd his life to him, and from whom he could only hope for a change of his condition.

In the mean while, *Charles* the *8th.* paſs'd the Mountains at the head of all the Gallantry and Stoutneſs in his Kingdom; and having croſs'd, like a Victor, the half of *Italy*, he march'd on, and preſented himſelf before *Rome*. The Pope, of whom he only demanded paſſage through his Countrey, was afraid leſt, under that pretence, he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the City; but the preſence of ſo great an Army would not permit him to liſten to his fear, he granted what he could not refuſe. And though the King, by a publick *Manifeſto*, declar'd, that he only came to *Rome* to accompliſh a Vow that he had made, and that he only went to *Naples* in his way to *Conſtantinople*,

yet he gave no credit to his words.

For *Alexander*, who had no kindness at all for the *French*, and had disoblig'd them upon several occasions, easily imagin'd, according to his Principles, that they would not lose so fair an opportunity to revenge themselves. But as he had a nimble craft, he sought always to give them satisfaction, and condescended to what-ever they desir'd. He gave the young Conquerour the Investiture of both *Sicilies*, and Crown'd him Emperour of *Constantinople*. Besides that, he deliver'd into his hands Sultan *Zizim*, whom the King had chiefly requested, out of a design to pursue his Conquests into the East, after he had master'd *Naples*. The *Ottoman* Prince was surrender'd to the *French* by a solemn Act, and with a publick Ceremony, where *Alexander* and *Charles* were present. He saluted *Charles* after such a manner, as neither bespake him a Barbarian nor a Prisoner. After he had kiss'd his Shoulder and his Hand, with a lofty

Air

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Air, he told the King, That he hop'd the French would, in his person, consider the *Ottoman* Race; and added, that when they should cross over into *Greece*, he should find a way to acknowledge their Civilities. *Charles* was ravish'd with admiration of the Great Soul which he saw in the *Sultan*, and treated him with so much Courtesie and Generosity, that *Zizim* testifi'd his joy for being fall'n into the hands of so generous a Monarch.

They departed from *Rome* for *Naples* both together; but the poor Prince, who prepar'd himself to assist the Enterprise of the *French*, and who was in hopes to raise his own Fortune by following theirs, felt himself struck by the way with an unknown distemper, that carri'd him off in a few days. His death surpriz'd all men, and there was great enquiry made into the cause. They that were of the Popes's party reported, that he gave himself too much over to his Pleasures the first days of his liberty, and that he

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kill'd himself with excess of Debauchery. Others say, that the *Venetians* corrupted with money by the *Turks*, and alarm'd at the *French* Expedition, had secretly given him poison. But most accuse the Pope to have deliver'd him poison'd to *Charles* the 8*th.* to the end that *France* should get no advantage by him; and the report ran, that *Alexander* receiv'd a good sum of money to perform that wicked act.

Reynald. Annal. Ecclesiæ, An. 1495.

Thus ended the life of *Zizim*, an unfortunate Prince, and yet more illustrious by his Misfortunes then by his Birth. Some think he dy'd a Christian, and that he was Baptiz'd at *Rome* before the death of *Innocent* the 8*th.* But those Authors, who have spoken most of this Prince, say nothing of his Conversion; which makes me believe, that, to aggravate his misfortunes, he dy'd a *Mahumetan*.

* 1492

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THE HISTORY OF Peter D'Aubuſſon, Grand Maſter of RHODES.

Book Sixth.

THE Grand Maſter, who took very heavily the news of *Zizim*'s Captivity, could not receive the news of his death without indignation and horrour; and he found himſelf laden with all the grief that a man could have, for the death of a perſon ſo extremely dear

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to him. But when the Interest of Christianity intermix'd with that tenderness, all his Fortitude was little enough to support him from being wholly depress't by an accident so Tragical. He ador'd the profound wisdom of God, that would not suffer the Christians to reap any advantage from the person of the *Ottoman* Prince, and permitted them, who had most interest to preserve him, to be his destroyers. But he admired as well the conduct of Providence, that would not give the Infidel liberty to gain any benefit by his death; but to unhinge all their designs, gave Victory to the Triumphant Arms of *France* in *Italy*.

Ferdinand King of *Naples* being dead of an Apoplexy, after *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary*, and Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, who both
1492 died of the same disease; *Alfonso*, a wicked Prince, hated by the Nobility and People, succeeded his Father; but terrifi'd by the rapid march of the *French*, and fearing besides the dire effects of publick

Rage,

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Rage, he left his Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, and retir'd into *Sicily*. The new King also follow'd the example of *Alfonso*; and after he had awhile disputed with the *French* the Avenues of the Kingdom, abandon'd it quite; so that the King of *France* made himself Master of the Capital Cities without striking one stroke. All *Turky* trembled at the progress of the *French* Army, and the terrour was so great at *Constantinople*, that the Priests of the *Mahumetan* Religion publickly cry'd out, That the *Turkish* Empire was lost without redemption.

Now before the Forces appointed for the Expedition of *Italy* set out of *France*, *Charles* the 8th, had sent to *Rhodes* the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, to desire the Grand Master to meet him at *Rome*. He also dispatch'd away to him the Commander of *Anger's* with very urgent Letters, so soon as he had cross'd the Mountains. More then this, as he earnestly desir'd this Enterview, though whether to be truly instru-

cted as to the design he had upon the *Levant*, or to dazle the World, that it should not be known which way he bended, is uncertain; he desir'd the Pope to write to the Grand Master, and wrote to him also with his own hand. And indeed his Letter was the most civil and engaging in the world: For after that he had declar'd, that he could not live without his counsel, nor enterprize any thing upon the *Levant* but under his Conduct, he conjur'd him to hasten his Voyage, for the reasons which he had declar'd to the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* his Nephew, to whom he had open'd his mind as to a Knight of great prudence, and of absolute experience.

This Letter coming to *Rhodes* before the Grand Prior, whom stress of weather had beaten off from the Island, the Grand Master, who believ'd such flattering expressions could not be sincere; and who saw but small foundations for a design that *France* made such a stir about, re-

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return'd for answer to the King, That he could not but highly applaud his Majesty's Zeal; That it was too much honour for him to fight under his Banners, or to contribute any thing to the Glory of his Atchievments. But in regard the Grand Prior *Blanchefort* had order to declare to him the whole secrets of the Affair, he daily expected to obey his Majesty's Orders.

The King, out of his impatience to see the Grand Master in *Italy*, wrote him a second Letter so soon as he was enter'd *Naples*. He also desir'd Cardinal *Briconnet*, and Cardinal *de Gurce*, who accompani'd him, and to whom the Pope had given Caps at his instance, to write both of them to the same effect. The first only exhorted him in general terms, not to deny that which was requested of him with so much ardency. The second, who had more zeal, went more home to the business, and after he had given him an account of all that had

pass'd

paſs'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, deſir'd him that he would condeſcend to be a Tutor to a young Conquerour, who was wholly intent upon the delivery of *Greece*, and whoſe hopes depended upon the Counſels of a Captain ſo experienc'd, and ſo formidable to the Enemies of the Faith. He added, That in that little time that ſo glorious an Enterpriſe was delay'd, the opportunity was in danger to be loſt. That it was to be fear'd, leſt the debaucheries that uſually attend upon great Conqueſts, might corrupt the Courages of the *French* Soldiers; That the ſins of Victors might draw upon them the malediction of Heaven; That the Enemies of *France* ſow'd jealouſies in the minds of the Princes of *Italy*, to engage them to croſs the deſigns of *Charles*; and that all preparations were making to form a League againſt him. That ſeveral, under the pretence of the good of his Kingdom, adviſ'd him to return into *France*, before he enter'd upon

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the Holy War. The Cardinal at last concluded, That the sole presence of the Grand Master, was enough to stay the King, and to ascertain the Expedition into the *Levant*.

But the Letters of the Cardinals did not work that effect which they expected. The Grand Master was confirm'd by their own reasons, that the Expedition which they projected against the *Turks*, was not an Enterprise that had any solid ground: he was a little distrustful of the inconstancy of the *French*, and the Youth of the Conqueror. Besides, he understood, that the League against *France*, was almost come to a period, and that the *Pope*, the the *Venetians*, the *Emperor*, and the King of *Spain* had all entred into it. He had also news at the same time, that the *Turks*, enrag'd at the death of *Zizim*, were setting forth a considerable Fleet, and that the Tempest threatned the Islands of the Order, with whom they had now no more occasion to deal so warily. So that his Voyage into *Italy* appearing

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pearing useless, and his presence being necessary in the East, he thought it sufficient to congratulate *Charles* the 8*th.* for his Conquest of *Naples*, and to flatter him with that of *Constantinople*; assuring him, that a Prince so valiant and so fortunate as he, had need of no other Conductors then his own Courage and Fortune to bring the greatest Enterprises to pass: That the Knights were over-joy'd to see him so advantagiously seated for a beyond-Sea Invasion: and concluding his Letter, That he had not yet heard from the Grand Prior *Blancheford*, whom he either thought to be cast away, or taken by the Pirates.

The event shew'd, that the Grand Master had no such reason to be hasty in his Voyage. For *Charles* the 8*th.* himself speedily on a sudden leaves *Naples*, and bends his march for *France*. Whether it were, that that restlesness which is natural to the *French* caus'd him to quit what he had Conquer'd, or whether all *Europe* Leagu'd against him, occasion'd his re-

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retreat. However, there was no discourse after that, either of any Expedition beyond Sea, or of any Conquest of *Constantinople*.

At the time that *Charles* absolutely laid aside all thoughts of the Holy War, *Maximilian* began to plot it in his mind, either out of a real Zeal, or an Envious Emulation to reproach the *French* in some sort, that they had not done what they boasted to do against the *Turk*. However, he did not think it convenient to do any thing without advising with the Grand Master; To which purpose he sent unto him *Ralph of Wittenbergh*, Knight of *Rhodes*, and Grand Prior of *Germany*. This new Ambassador declar'd at a publick Audience, That *Maximilian* having resolv'd to turn all the Force of the Empire against the common Enemy, he durst not venture to proceed, till he had consulted before-hand the Cardinal Grand Master, the Oracle of the Christian Princes, the Terror of the Infidels, and Glory of the East: That he de-

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desir'd private Ties of Union, and an entire correspodence with him, to the end he might follow his directions in all things, which he desir'd him not to refuse to those that requested them sincerely.

The Grand Master made answer publickly, That he was highly oblig'd to the Emperour for his Reliance and Esteem; but that he did not deserve those splendid Titles with which his Imperial Majesty had honour'd him; and that though the Order had signaliz'd themselves against the Infidels for some years since, those happy Successes were to be attributed to the valour of the Knights, and the Protection of Heaven. After which, in a discourse in private with the Ambassador, he laid open to him all the insight which he had into the Holy War, what Enterprises were to be undertaken against the *Turk* either by Sea or Land, and which were the most probable ways to succeed.

The wrongs and damages which the *Turks* at that time did to the Vessels

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Vessels of the Order, did not a little help to heat the Grand Master, and cause him to close with the designs of the Emperor. Several Infidels that inhabited the Coasts of *Lycia*, neareſt to *Rhodes*, put to Sea every day, and pretending themselves to be Pirats, pillag'd the Isles of the Order; they also made inrodes into *Caria*, and brav'd the Knights even to the very Gates of the Castle of St. *Peter*. The Grand Master sends out certain Vessels against these pretended Pirats, of which, some were taken, and punish'd to the utmost of their deserts. But these disorders continuing, he writes to the Port, to know whether the Grand Seignior authorised these violences or no. The Pirats intercept the Letters, and kill the Bearers. The Grand Master being advertiz'd thereof, sought a more sure way to write to *Bajazet*, and did it with all the fierceness that a just resentment could inspire him with. Now though *Bajazet* were, as we said before, exasperated in his heart against the Knights, and had little

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little value for them since the death of his Brother; yet he was still unwilling to display his fury: So that he order'd the *Beglerbei* of *Anatolia* severely to punish the Criminals. He also sent to *Rhodes* a Prudent and Intelligent Person, to examine the Losses which the *Rhodians* had sustain'd, and to assure them, in the name of his Highness, that all should be restor'd with Interest.

While the Grand Seignior labour'd in this manner to satisfie the Grand Master, some of the *Rhodians*, interrested in the Goods which the Pirats had taken, secretly set forth some Vessels, and exercis'd several acts of Hostility upon the Coast of *Lycia*, pillaging Villages, taking Ships, and carrying away the very persons of the *Turks*. When the Grand Master was inform'd of it, he would not stay till the *Beglerbei* complain'd; he caus'd the chief in the Enterprize to be Arrested; and having discover'd that the Knights had a share, he nam'd Commissioners to examine the matter,

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matter, resolv'd to proceed against the guilty with all the rigour of the Statutes, which positively forbid the Knights to set forth any Vessels of War without express leave.

Thus was the Grand Master perplex'd at home; abroad he was as ill satisfi'd with the Church of *Rome*; For *Alexander* became more proud then ever by the retreat of the *French* Army, had no regard to the Priviledges which his Predecessor had granted to the Order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, touching the Collation of Benefices.

Francis Bossolx, a *Catalonian* by birth, one of the most Antient and most Illustrious Knights of his Language, had conferr'd upon him by the Grand Master the *Priory* of *Catalonia*. The Pope not considering either the Age, or the Merit of the Knight, conferr'd the same Priorate, with the Commendary of *Navelles*, upon *Lewis Borgia* his Nephew. So unjust an act estranged all their hearts from the Pope, and occasion'd much trouble

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at *Rhodes*. It was therefore resolv'd in Counsel to complain thereof in all the Courts of Christendom, and particularly to that of *Spain*. To which purpose Commissioners were named, and the Grand Prior of *Portugal*, the Bayliff of *Negroponti*, the Commendator *Villel*, and the Knight *de Gotor*, in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassadors. The Grand Master wrote to *Ferdinand* a long Letter, wherein, after he had set forth how much scandal and disorder the injustice of *Alexander* had caused in the Order, he besought his Majesty to espouse their Interests, and so mediate vigorously for them to the Pope.

Ferdinand, who was not ignorant of the Services which the Grand Master had done the Holy See, found his complaints so just, that he presently put the Knight *de Bostolx* in possession of the Priory of *Catalogne*. He assur'd the Ambassadors also, that while he liv'd, no other Knights of *Rhodes*, but such as were appointed and endow'd by the Grand

Grand Master, should enjoy the Revenues of his Order within his Dominions. He also wrote to the Pope at the same time, and very earnestly represented to him, That the courses he took steer'd directly to the ruine of the Order, wholly devoted to the Holy See. That the Zeal of the Knights was not altogether so pure and Angelical, but that they had an eye upon Temporal Recompences, while they fought against the common Enemy of the Faith; and that both their Zeal and Courage too would cool, when they beheld the Price of their Labours and their Sweat in the hands of Strangers and unknown Persons: So that if his Holiness did not preserve their Priviledges, it might be fear'd, that the Rampart of Christendom might be expos'd to the fury of the Infidels.

Alexander submitted to the Reasons, or at least to the Authority of the King of *Castile*. He revoked the Collation which he had made in favour of his Nephew; and the Grand Master gave the Commen-

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derie of *Wovelles*, with that of *Baioles* to Don *Ferrand* of *Arragon*, of the Royal Family, and very dear to the King of *Castile*, having before that created him a Knight.

In the mean time intelligence came, that the *Turks* were building great Ships, and every where made great Preparationsfor War. Thereupon the Grand Master sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, in shew, to Congratulate the Grand Signior upon his recovery from sickness, but really to penetrate into the design of those new Preparations. *Bajazet* kept his design very secret: but the publick rumor of the Port was, that those Preparations were intended against *Egypt*, and was a report probable enough.

Cairbei had been dead some months before, and the youngest of his Sons was advanc'd to the Throne by the subtilty of a *Circassian Mamaluke*, who did what he pleas'd at *Caire*, and pretended to govern during the Minority of the Infant. But an absolute Authority in

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in one particular Subject is always suspected and odious. The principal Nobility of the Court would not endure the new Government; so that instead of doing Homage to the new Sovereign, they revolted from him, and made Confederacies with the *Turks* to deprive him of his Crown. The Grand Master was inform'd of the rumour of the Court, but he believ'd it so much the less, the more the Grand Signior's Ministers desir'd it should be believ'd. He kept himself upon his Guard, and gave order for every thing. He engag'd in the Service of the Order all Strangers Ships that us'd the *Levant* Seas. He hir'd Companies of *Spanish* Infantry out of *Sicily*, from whence he also sent for Corn in abundance. The Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, after a dangerous Voyage, at length arriving safe, had order to go for *France* to make his Complements, and to desire aid of the Successor to *Charles* the VIII. who was dead of an Apoplexy, a disease fatal to great men in that 1498

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Age. Thereupon *Lewis* the XII. who had a great esteem for the Grand Master, kindly receiv'd the Grand Prior, and order'd two and twenty great Ships to be made ready for the service of the Knights.

At that time, the Grand Master understanding, that *Henry* the VIII. King of *England*, laid out for the fairest *Turky*-Carpets that were to be got, presented him with some that were very rare. *Henry* became sensible of the Civilities of the Grand Master, and, in acknowledgment, sent him several excellent Pieces of Artillery, with some Horses of an extraordinary Mettle and Colour. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, who, of all the Princes of *Europe*, was most liable to be a Prey to the Barbarians, offered the Knights of St. *John* two Provinces of his Dominions, to engage them altogether to his Interests. But the Grand Master was not of that humour to despoil a Prince, to protect him; he refus'd the offers of *Ladislaus*, but promis'd him all manner of assistance.

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Blanchefort was no sooner return'd to *Rhodes*, but the Armada of the *Turks* pass'd through the Straits of *Gallipoly*; the Course they steer'd at first caus'd a great fear, that the Storm threaten'd the Order of St. *John*; but soon after it was seen to fall upon the Republick of *Venice*. The *Turks* pretended, that they had suffered great wrongs in *Romania*, and the *Morea*. Besides that, the Proveditor *Prioly* having met a *Turkish* Vessel alone near *Metelino*, and perceiving that the Ship, in stead of Loring Sail, fir'd at them with all her Artillery, fought and sunk her. Now though the Act of *Prioli* was regular, however, it incens'd the Grand Sighior, who lov'd the Captain of the Ship; for which reason he resolv'd a War against them: nevertheless he did not at all declare his resentment. For *Zaccari*, whom the Senate sent to discover the inclinations of the Port, received a thousand Caresses from *Bajazet*. Nay, the Barbarian desir'd to renew his Alliance with the Repub-

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lick; but he caus'd the Articles of the new Treaty to be written in *Latine*, to the end he might break it when he pleas'd, according to the Principles of the *Mahumetan* Law, which suffers them not to have any regard to their words in Contracts, that are not written in their own Language.

At the same time that the *Ottoman* Fleet fail'd out of the Streight, the Grand Signior enter'd into *Romania* with a powerful Army, having impriſon'd before all the *Venetians* that were at *Constantinople*. One part of the *Turkiſh* Cavalry was divided from the reſt, and ſent to haraſs the Countreys of *Zara* and *Dalmatia*. General *Grimani*, who lay at *Modon* with the Fleet of the Republick, had implor'd the aſſiſtance of the Grand Maſter upon the firſt noiſe of the War. But he more urgently requeſted his aid, when he ſaw the *Turks* double the Point of the *Morea*. *Juſtiniani*, who commanded in *Candy*, joyned his requeſts with thoſe of *Grimani*, and

and both of them sent to *Rhodes* certain Letters from the Duke *Barbarigo.*

The Grand Master look'd on the attempt of the *Turks* upon the *Venetians*, as a violation of the Treaty of Peace made with the *Order*, by reason they were oblig'd not to molest the Christians: so that he made no scruple to succour the *Venetians* in the present Conjuncture. But because he would not make too great a noise, he onely sent them the *Spanish* Infantry that was come from *Sicily*, and some other Foreign Troops. The Republick also at the same time sent to the King of *France*, to obtain of his Majesty the Vessels design'd for the assistance of *Rhodes*. Who thereupon being then in League with the Pope and the *Venetians* against the Duke of *Milan*, gave order to his Admiral to sail away for *Greece*, to observe the countenances of the *Turks*; and in case that *Rhodes* were in no danger, to joyn with the *Venetian* Fleet.

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The noise of War inflam'd some of the Knights, and, amongst others, the Grand Prior *Blanchefort*, whom the affairs of the Order detain'd in *France* during the Siege of *Rhodes*: And therefore to satisfie the extreme desire he had to meet with the Infidels, he desir'd leave to go and serve the *Venetians*. The Grand Master, who, before he broke with the *Turk*, was desirous to see the success of the War with *Venice*, hesitated at first upon the proposal of his Nephew; but the business being deliberated in Council, it was order'd, that the Grand Prior should have his liberty, but that he should not take along with him above thirty Knights at most. So that *Blanchefort* came to *Modon* at the same time that the *French* Ships arriv'd there. As for the *Venetian* Fleet, they had not so many Vessels as the *Turks*, But they had better men, and Ships more fit for fight. The *Turks* therefore avoided meeting with the *Christians*, minding onely to husband themselves for some greater Enterprise.

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prise. But the Adventurers of *Rhodes* desiring nothing more then a Battel, press'd *Grimani* not to lose the opportunity. And indeed they might have fought, found, and vanquish'd the Infidels, had not the over-prudence of the *Venetians* rendred the heat of the *French* unprofitable. But the *Ottoman* Fleet consisted of 260 Sail, a number that astonish'd *Grimani*; so that instead of engaging, he did nothing but follow them aloof off. Thereupon the Grand Prior, and the *French* Admiral, who had a full resolution to have signaliz'd themselves, disgusted at the conduct of the General, quitted him with a generous disdain.

The Infidels emboldened by the Cowardice of the *Venetians*, and by the retreat of the *French*, fiercely skirted along the Coasts of *Morea*, and enter'd into the Gulph of *Lepanto*, whether *Bajazet* was come with his Army. The City was taken almost in sight of *Grimani*, who had not the courage to relieve it.

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This untoward news very much troubl'd the Grand Master: but the Pestilence that increas'd in *Rhodes* much more afflicted him. He made excellent Orders to stop the Torrent of the Contagion; and to the end the Barbarians might not attempt any thing at a time so seasonable for them, he kept in pay four Galleys, which his Nephew brought along with him from *Provence*; and having re-inforc'd them with Knights and Souldiers, he commanded them to cruise about the Islands; wherein he did two good acts at one time: for he preserv'd the Islands from Pirats, and empti'd the City of a great number of People, which might have been swept away by the Pestilence.

Lewis the XII. who made himself Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*, while the *Turks* took *Lepanto*, and who had a design to re-conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, out of which the *French* had been driv'n, thought himself oblig'd to assist the *Venetians* in the low Ebb of their Affairs: but he

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he was perſwaded he could not do it, unleſs he acted by conſent with the Grand Maſter. For that reaſon he ſent to him two Heralds at Arms, who carri'd a Letter alſo to the Port, to the end that by his means they might travel ſafely through *Turky*, and have a favourable Audience. So ſoon as the Heralds came to *Rhodes*, the Grand Maſter, who had made no open Breach with the *Turks*, wrote to *Conſtantinople* for Letters of ſafe Conduct. To which *Bajazet* did not onely freely conſent, but gave order to the Baſha's of *Lycia* to go and meet the Heralds of *France*, and convoy them to the Port.

Eſarcho Centurino, a man of good judgment, and one of the principal Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, departed along with them, carrying a Letter of Credence, to beſeech the Grand Signior not to detain the Heralds long, and to make ſome ſmall Complement to his Highneſs as to the War which he made againſt the *Venetians*. Now though the Letters from

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from *Lewis* were very haughty, and threaten'd the *Ottoman* Empire with the Force of *France*, if he did not cease to moleſt the *Venetians*, and reſtore all that had been taken from them. *Bajazet* nevertheleſs receiv'd them very well; nor did he ſend them back without good Words, and magnificent Preſents.

As the King of *France* had ſent two Heralds by the way of *Rhodes*, the Grand Signior, by the ſame way alſo, ſent to the King of *France* two Grandees of the Port, of which, the one was called *Sinanbeii*, and the other *Muſtheii*, to excuſe himſelf likewiſe to the Grand Maſter. In ſome ſort he endeavour'd, in a large Letter, to lay the blame upon the *Venetians*, and gave the reaſons that mov'd him to declare War againſt them. He pretended, that the *Venetians* had violated the Faith of Treaties, and the Right of Nations, exerciſing all manner of violences upon the *Turks*; of which, to the end he might be believ'd, he gave a long Liſt. And

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the more to defame the *Venetians*, he added, that the most Illustrious King of *France* knew well enough what wrongs they had done the *French*, when being onely Duke of *Orleans*, he accompani'd *Charles* the 8*th*. to the Conquest of *Naples*, when they proffer'd him ten Duckats for every Souldier to invade *Italy*; alledging, that if they did not stop the progress of the *French* Arms, they would at length assail the *Ottoman* Empire. All this the Grand Seignior wrote to justifie himself; but mention'd not a word how *Lodowic Sforza*, finding the King of *France* in League with the *Venetians* against him, had invited the *Ottoman* Arms against them; aggravating to the Port, that *Lewis* the XII. would certainly put in execution, what *Charles* the VIII. design'd, for the Conquest of *Milan*, and *Naples*.

In the mean time, a Ship of *Rhodes* being bound from thence to the Coast of *Egypt*, was attack'd by a *Turkish* Gallion near to *Alexandria*.

andria. The Knights who were in the Ship defended themselves stoutly, and had reduc'd the *Turk* to the last extremity; but when the Ship was just upon the point of yielding, another Vessel, well arm'd, came to her relief; so that the Knights were forc'd to quit her. They made for *Alexandria*, and putting up the Soldan's Colours, enter'd the Port. But the Admiral of *Alexandria*, a perfidious Brute, without any regard either to the Peace and Laws of Nations, made the Knights Prisoners, and sent them to *Cairo*, with all the Christians that were in the Ship.

The Grand Master conjectur'd, by the attempt of the Gallion, that the *Turks* had no intentions any longer to keep fair with the Order. However, he complain'd to the Soldan of the Admirals behaviour, and that in high terms too, as of a violence insupportable. The Soldan understanding, that such sharp complaints were as good as threats, and that he that made them would be as good as his word, disown'd the

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the Admiral, and releas'd the Pris'ners.

But the Grand Signior's proceedings were far different. For all his Civilities to the Grand Master, and his Embassie to the Court of *France*, did not hinder the Infidels from continuing the War against the *Venetians*, nor from invading *Italy*. Twelve thousand Spahi's entred into *Friuli*, through uncouth and difficult passages; and putting all to Fire and Sword, carri'd away above 20000 Christians into Slavery. The Pope, who minded nothing but the advancement of his Family, till then had onely been a Spectator of the War; but now he began to think himself concern'd, when he saw the Enemy at his Gates. And besides that his own Interest engag'd him to act, he thought himself oblig'd in Honour to wipe off those reproaches, which the death of *Zizim* had thrown upon him, and to repair, by some notable action, what had been irregular in his Government. Thereupon he

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undertook, with all the heat imaginable, to unite the Christian Princes, that he might put a stop to the incursions of the Barbarians.

Nor was his diligence unsuccessful. The Kings of *Castile*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary* declar'd themselves first of all. *Maximilian*, whom the Wars of *Guelders* and *Switzerland* had diverted from the *Turkish* War, entred into this Holy League with *Louis* the *12th.* when their differences about *Milan* were ended, by the Marriage of the King's Daughter with the Emperor's Son.

The Grand Master convinc'd more then ever of the Infidelity of the Grand Signior, and not believing himself oblig'd to have any more respect for them, who had no more for him, Leagu'd himself with the Croisado'd Princes. And now Forces are raising all over *Europe*; Ships making ready, Money gathering together in all places; and the bloody Crosses that fell from Heaven in *Germany*, which *Maximilian* himself saw, seem'd to portend

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tend a happy ſucceſs. The *Turks* take the Alarm at theſe Prepartions and Prodigies; though that which moſt affrighted them was the choice that was made of the *Generaliſſimo* of the League.

Alexander, who, among his wicked qualities, had ſome good ones, and who had a very ready wit, bethought himſelf, that to bring about ſo important an Expedition, nothing could be more available then the choice of an Experienc'd Captain, and ſuch a one as ſhould be acceptable to all the Princes. He caſt his eye upon the Grand Maſter *D' Aubuſſon*, and propos'd him in a full Conſiſtory, after he had made him a large Encomium. All the Cardinals applauded the Popes Propoſition. However, *Alexander*, before he made the Choice publick, reſolv'd to try the Inclination of the Grand Maſter. To this end he wrote to him in a very obliging ſtyle, nevertheleſs with a chargeable condition in his Brief, that the Order, during the time that the Grand Maſter ſhould

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continue General, should keep out at Sea four Galleys, and four Barks, well appointed, for the Service of the League.

The Grand Master, who lov'd to act at his own liberty, ponder'd upon the Condition; and it may be his modesty had made use of this pretence, to rid himself of an Employment, which he thought above him, if the Council had not advis'd him to accept of the Condition at any rate whatever, and that the Letters of several Cardinals his Friends had not at length brought him to an absolute determination. Thereupon he wrote to his Holiness, That with all acknowledgment and humble bashfulness he was willing to take upon him the Charge, with which he was pleas'd to honour him: And he sent a very ample Procuration, as to this Affair, to the Commander of *Avignon*, then Vice-Procurator-General of the Order in the Court of *Rome*.

The Pope, not doubting but that his Proposal would be as acceptable

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to the Princes, as it was to the Cardinals, gave them advice of his choice, ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd the Grand Maſter's Anſwer. All the Courts of Chriſtendom applauded ſo wiſe a Choice; and this one Action did *Alexander* ſo much honour, that his Reputation was much repair'd thereby. Thereupon before all the Ambaſſadors of the Confederate Princes, he publickly declar'd the Grand Maſter *D'Aubuſſon*, Captain-General of the Croiſado.

After which, his Holineſs, by a Solemn Brief, fill'd with his Praiſes, gave him information of it. The Purport of the Brief was, That the Princes had approv'd the Choice which he had made of his Perſon; That they were very readily diſpos'd to obey him; and that his Experience, Valour, and Piety, gave them confident hopes of Victory. The Pope added, That he was reſolv'd to go to the War himſelf, notwithſtanding his Age, reſolv'd to partake with the Grand Maſter in all the Labours of a Chriſtian War-

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fare, and to lay down his life, if occaſion ſhould be, to render the Expedition ſucceſsful. He ſent word, That there were 15 Galleys, which he had expreſsly caus'd to be made ready; and that the Biſhop of *Tivoly* had orders to ſend them away, ſo ſoon as they were fitted out. He alſo wrote him word, that he had given notice to the Princes by their Ambaſſadors, that his intention was, that they and all their Forces ſhould render to him the ſame Honour, and the ſame Obedience, as to the Head of the Church. Exhorting him him at length to defend the Faith upon this occaſion, with the ſame Courage and Virtue, with which alone he had defended it, when he forc'd *Mahomet* to raiſe his Siege from before *Rhodes*.

Lewis the XII. would not ſtay to acknowledge him till he was publickly proclaim'd at *Rome*; but ſo ſoon as he underſtood the Pope's intentions, he wrote to the Grand Maſter, That being willing to contribute to the Succeſſes of ſo noble

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an Expedition, notwithstanding the Affairs he had in *Italy*, he was setting forth a Navy Royal, and that knowing his Prudence and long Experience in the Wars against the *Turk*, he had order'd his Admiral, *Philip de Cleves Ruvesteine*, to follow his Counsels in all things, and to Act by his Instructions.

The Praises and Applauses which the Pope and the King of *France* gave him, did but re-double the zeal and diligence of the Grand Master: So that being now acknowledg'd the Captain of such a famous Enterprize, his whole study was, how to bring it to good issue. The Summer being now past, and no Princes Fleet appearing; or if they had appear'd, the Season being now past for any considerable Action, his first consideration was to settle a Bank for the paiment of such Forces as should arrive, that they might not think of returning for want of Money. For he knew well, that onely Money could keep Souldiers together idle in the *Levant*. To

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this purpose he sent to the Pope and the King of *France* intelligent Knights, to let them understand, that without that precaution, there was nothing to be done against the *Turk*. That if the Souldiers of the League came not forthwith, they would not be in a condition for action the next Season; and that, if being once arriv'd, they should return for want of subsistence, the common Enemy would take advantage of their Retreat. He let them further know, That while the Forces of the Confederate Princes attack'd the *Turk* by Sea, it was necessary that the King of *Hungary* should assail him by Land to make a diversion.

But in regard the safety of Christendom, in some measure, depended upon the safety of *Rhodes*, he was of opinion, that the Ships belonging to the Order should not distance themselves any farther then Cape *Malio*. He also thought it necessary, that the Fleet of the Confederate Princes should not come

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to *Rhodes*, to ſpare them the labour of returning back to the *Morea*, and *Rhodes* the inconvenience of being eaten out by ſo many people. Upon which conſideration it was reſolv'd to ſend before to *Raveſtein*, to deſire him to ſtay at Cape St. *Angelo*, there to attend till the Maſter came himſelf to bring them into ſome good Harbour.

Raveſtein was already entred into the *Archepelago*, and ſteer'd directly to the Iſland of *Metelin*, to ſignalize himſelf immediately by ſome notable action. But in regard he hated Dependency, and was covetous of all the Honour to himſelf, ſo far was he from following the Orders of the Grand Maſter, that not vouchſafing to follow his Counſel, he onely ſent to invite him to come and joyn with him. However, though this ſeem'd a very diſobliging act of *Raveſtein*, yet the Grand Maſter more reſented the ill-timing of the Enterprize, then the ill-behaviour of *Raveſtein*, knowing well it was contrary to the King's Pleaſure,

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ſure, and that the wills of Princes are uſually ill obey'd, when thoſe that are employ'd take upon them to follow their own inclinations. And indeed this Bad beginning of the League, created an ill opinion of the Event. Nor did the ſlowneſs of the Pope leſs trouble him, then the forwardneſs of the *French*. The fifteen Galleys that were to appear with the firſt, were not to be heard of; neither was there any news of the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, who had order to conduct them.

How zealous ſoever the Grand Maſter was to advance the Affairs of the *Croiſade*, he could not determine with himſelf to joyn with the *French* before the arrival of the Pope's Fleet. He conſider'd, that having no Inſtructions from his Holineſs touching the Duties of his Office, it behov'd him not to begin the Exerciſe of it. He conſider'd alſo, that in difficulties which might happen, the other Captains would be ſubject to diſpute his power, when they found the Galleys

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Galleys of his Holineſs abſent. To avoid all theſe inconveniences, he preſs'd the Pope to keep his word, repreſenting to him with an extraordinary reſpect and zeal mix'd together, that his Holineſs being the Chief, and Soul of the Enterpriſe, there was nothing to be done without him. That the Fleets of the Chriſtian Princes would come in vain into the *Levant*, if he did not appear in the head of them. That as for his part, he deſir'd onely to acquit himſelf of the Charge wherewith he had been pleas'd to honour him, as having all his life-time onely ſought a fair opportunity to ruine the *Mahumetan* Puiſſance.

Raveſtein, who had unadviſedly engag'd himſelf in the Siege of *Metelin*, and began to ſee his fault, endeavour'd all he could to re-fix himſelf in the good opinion of the Grand Maſter, and to oblige him to come to his relief: He ſent to him by the Knight *de Gavaſton*, who was come to him on the behalf of the Order, that the *Venetians* having drawn him

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him to *Meteline* before the arrival of the Knight, he could not avoid besieging the City. That at first he had rais'd a Battery, which had no success, as being planted against the strongest part of the Wall; but that having chang'd his Battery, the Canon wrought wonders; but that he could not determine with himself to make a general Onset without him; believing withall, that the Event of the Storm would not prove successful, unless the Knights of *Rhodes* had their share. That the *Venetians* had thirty Galleys before *Meteline*, not counting his. That for the Popes Galleys, they were not to be expected; nor did he know where his Holiness should have fifteen; for that being at *Naples*, he knew he had but two, which the Duke of *Valentinois* made use of against the Prince of *Piombino*; and that he could not learn that he had made any Preparations against the *Turk*; concluding at last, that he acknowledg'd the Grand Master for General of the Christian Fleet, and that

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that he would not proceed any more without his Orders.

The Grand Master hearing no news of the Pope's fifteen Galleys, and not enduring that any thing should be acted against the *Turk*, wherein he had not his share, resolv'd to sacrifice his Resentments to his Honour, and the Interests of the Church. He thought himself oblig'd also, for the Reputation of the Arms of *France*, not to desert *Ravestein*, what ever reason he had to be displeas'd with him. Therefore that he might act with Honour, besides the four Galleys and four Barks which he was to set forth by the Articles of the League, he resolv'd to take along with him the Great Ship belonging to the Order, twelve great Galliots, several Brigantines, several Foists, with some *Italian* and *Catalonian* Vessels which he had hir'd.

At his departure, he left very good Orders behind him; for having declar'd the Grand Commander *Cossa* his Lieutenant to govern with the Council, he prescrib'd him every week

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week to give publick Audience to the People: and in case any of the Knights should withstand him, to proceed against them according to the Forms and Rigour of the Statutes. The management of the Treasure, for a time, he committed to the care of the Admiral; and particularly charg'd the Grand Marshal to be exact in doing Justice to the Knights.

For the security of *Rhodes*, he gave order, that Guards should be kept in all the Posts of the Languages, as if the place were Besieg'd; and he himself nam'd such and such Knights to ride their Rounds about the Island, to hinder the Landing of the Barbarians.

The Council, in requital, to shew the particular esteem which they had for the Grand Master, order'd, That all the Knights that accompani'd him should enjoy the priviledges of Residence, as if present at *Rhodes*: That all Elections of Priors and Bailiffs should surcease in his absence, that he might deliberate upon

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upon ſuch Affairs as ſhould preſent themſelves, and that his Decrees ſhould be of the ſame force and authority, as if iſſu'd out of his Palace: and that in regard a great number of Knights were to attend the Grand Maſter, it was ordain'd, that after their departure, no Knight ſhould ſtir out of the Iſland, but upon the urgent affairs of the Order.

Things being thus ſetled, and twelve Veſſels of the Fleet being gone before to ſtay for the Knights at *Lango*, the Grand Maſter embark'd the 21 of *November*, attended to the Sea by a great throng of People, who could not but let fall tears at his departure, eſpecially when they ſaw him threaten'd by a riſing Tempeſt ere he was out of ſight.

His impatience to be at the aſſault of *Meteline*, caus'd him to make all the haſte imaginable. Scarcely had he reach'd *Lango*, when the Knight *Baldovin*, whom he had ſent before to advertize the *French* and *Venetians* of his coming, brought him news

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news that the Siege was rais'd; at the same time delivering him Letters from *Ravestein* and *Pesaro*. *Ravestein* signifi'd to him in a few words, That the Siege of *Meteline* being an Enterprise much more difficult, then it had seem'd to be to men of very good judgment, he thought fit to leave it off. That the Season being far spent, his care was how to be gone before it grew worse, which would be in two days at fartheſt, with his good leave. The Letter from *Pesaro* was larger, and more rational; the effect whereof was, That whereas *Ravestein* had undertaken the Siege without advising with the *Venetians*, he had also rais'd it of his own head: That it was no wonder, that an Enterprise so ill manag'd should have no better success. That the *French* preparing for home, there was no likelihood that the *Venetians* should stay at *Meteline*. That they were making to *Scio*; and that if it were his pleasure they should joyn with the Knights, they were ready to do what

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what he should think best for the good of Christendom. *Pesaro* added, that there was no heed to be given to the Popes Promise, for that his Fifteen Gallies were onely in Idea. That the *Spanish* Fleet was about *Taranto*; and that the *Portugal* Fleet having gain'd *Corfu*, was return'd home, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the *Venetians*; pretending they could not stay long out in bad weather in those Seas.

The Grand Master was more perplex'd at the ill success of the Enterprize of *Meteline*, then surpriz'd at it. But believing that the return of the *French* Fleet would do more harm to the Affairs of the League, then the raising of the Siege, he dispatch'd away a Foist to *Naxi*, by which the *French* were to pass, desiring *Raveistein* not to return till they had discours'd together. He sent another to *Scio*, to desire the *Venetians* to meet him at *Naxi*, and to let them know, that he had made great Preparations for their assistance; that he had left

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Rhodes in a bad Season, and almost contrary to the advice of his Council: That the misfortune of *Meteline* was not past recovery, and that they might return to the Siege with more success, provided the *French* had not lost their courage. He desired *Pesaro* to stay *Ravenstein*, at what rate soever, if they were yet together, or earnestly to write to him, if they were parted.

The *Rhodian* Fleet set sail from *Lango* presently after the Foists, and, in spight of contrary Winds, arriv'd at length before *Naxi*. But *Ravensteins* impatience to quit the *Levant*, would not permit him to stay for the Knights. He set sail precisely two days after he had wrote to the Grand Master, according to the purport of his Letter, the Prayers of the *Venetians*, the Honour of *France*, nor his own, being able to stop him.

The Grand Master had not been so well appeas'd at the departure of the *French*, had he not met the *Venetians* in sight of the Island.

After

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After mutual Salutes of both Fleets, *Peſaro* came aboard the Grand Maſter, where after ſome deliberation upon the preſent ſtate of Affairs, they concluded together, to write to all the Princes of the *Croiſade*, to engage them to let their Fleets be ready againſt the Spring. They alſo agreed, that the true way to ruine the *Turk*, was not to make any attempts upon the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, the loſs of which would do him but little harm; but to force the *Dardanels*, and beſiege *Gallipoli* with a potent Army; then to make up directly to *Conſtantinople*, and fire the Fleet that uſually rode in the Sea of *Marmora*; which the Grand Maſter would undertake to do, provided that *Ladiſlaus* perform'd his part upon *Hungary* ſide. This being the condition of Affairs at that time, the Grand Maſter took his leave of *Peſaro*, and ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, three of the *Venetian* Galleys attending him out of reſpect. The *Rhodians*, who did not expect his Return ſo

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soon, were pleasingly surpriz'd at it; yet easily brookt the misfortune that restor'd them their Grand Master.

No sooner was he arriv'd, but he had intelligence, that several *Turky* Merchants Ships, very richly laden, were in the Seas of *Syria* and *Egypt* homeward bound. The Council was of opinion, that such a Booty was not to be let slip, but that they should take this opportunity absolutely to break with the Port. Thereupon the Grand Master commanded out seven Gallies, and some Boats, to way-lay them. The Knight *Diomede de Villaragut*, *Castellan* of *Empolta*, was nam'd Admiral of the Squadron. He put to Sea, and took the Ships; so that the Prize almost recompenc'd the Expences which the Knights had been at.

But for all this small success, the Master was not a little troubled at the slowness of the Princes. He was sensibly afflicted to see the League half-broken; and therefore to renew it again, he sent Ambassadors

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to all the Christian Courts: Who were no sooner departed, but Ambassadors arriv'd from *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*; who, after they had congratulated the Grand Master as General of the League, assur'd him, that the *Hungarian* Army was in readiness; and therefore desir'd him to engage the Grand *Caraman*, the Soldan of *Egypt*, but, above all, the King of *Persia*, to take up Arms against the *Turk*. The Resolutions of *Ladislaus* extremely rejoyc'd the Grand Master; but the Revolutions then hapning in *Persia* somewhat qualifi'd his joy.

Jacup the Son of *Ussum Cassan*, succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of *Persia*, was afraid lest *Arduel*, his Cousin, should one day usurp the Crown; and his fear was upon good grounds. *Arduel* publickly gave out, that *Ali* was the true Interpreter of the Law; and thereby he almost overthrew *Mahumetism*. The People, who are always dispos'd to receive Novelties, and

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are easily govern'd by them that know how to tickle their fancies with Religion, declar'd themselves for the Doctrine of *Arduel*. Thereupon *Jacup* thought the favour of the People to be a sufficient crime for which to put him to death, and rid himself of him without any noise. And a little while after he gave the same order for *Ishmael* the Son of *Arduel*. That order of the King of *Persia* was not so secret, but *Ishmael* had notice of it. Upon which, he fled towards the *Caspian Sea*, to a Prince that was one of his Friends, and there immediately made a publick Profession of what his Father had taught him. His comely Presence and his Eloquence, soon begat him a high esteem among those Barbarous Nations, even to be regarded as a kind of Deity; for which reason they gave him the name of *Sophi*, or Wise. He dextrously kept up so fair a Reputation, and believing it lawful for him to do any thing to obtain a Crown, he got the King of *Persia* to be put to death, by

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by the very means of the Queen her self, who hated her Husband, and lov'd *Ishmael*. After the death of *Jacup*, *Ishmael* return'd into *Persia*, with a great number of his followers, who lookt upon him as a Prophet sent by God: The most part of the *Persians* took his part, so that having got together a good Army, he march'd against *Alvant*, who had tak'n possession of the Throne, as being the eldest Son of *Jacup*. The new King was driv'n first from his City, then defeated in a great Battel, and slain by *Ishmael's* own hand. This fatal news quite dampt the courage of *Alvani's* Brother, whose name was *Maracatam*, and lay at *Babylon* with a numerous Army. So that in stead of marching against *Ishmael*, he fled to the Mountains, and abandon'd the Throne that belong'd to him to save his life. Thus the Usurper became the Master; and though all the Kingdom had not yet submitted to his Scepter, he caus'd himself to be call'd King of *Persia*.

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These Revolutions appear'd no way favourable to the King of *Hungary*, nor to the intentions of the Grand Master. There was no probability that *Ishmael Sophi* would engage in the Affairs of the League, while *Persia* was not yet at Peace within it self, and all those accidents were still to be fear'd that might ruine a new Dominion, unjust and unsetl'd; besides, that the Successes of *Ishmael* naturally bred suspitions in the King of *Caramania*'s breast. Which reasons would not permit him to enterprize against the *Turks*, when he had enough to do to secure himself at home. Nor was the Soldan of *Egypt* in a better condition to favour the Princes of the *Croisade*; for besides that he was embroil'd in the Domestick Dissentions of his own Court, he fear'd the victorious Arms of *Ishmael*, who by the advice giv'n him by *Attula Turcoman*, threaten'd to begin his Conquests with those of *Syria* and *Egypt*, when he had setl'd himself in *Persia*. Nevertheless,

leſs, when the Grand Maſter better conſider'd, he bethought himſelf, that the Troubles of *Perſia* would be no way diſadvantagious to the Enterprize of the Chriſtians; for that the *Turk* alarm'd with the Succeſs of his Victorious Neighbour and Enemy, would be oblig'd to keep very numerous Armies upon the Fronteers of *Turky*; and that being thereby much weaken'd, he might be the eaſier vanquiſh'd at home.

The noiſe of the League no leſs perplex'd *Bajazet*, then the Revolutions of *Perſia*. Underſtanding therefore that the Grand Maſter was the Head and Soul of the Enterprize, he bethought himſelf of dealing with him, by the means of *Sultan Corcut*, the beſt belov'd of all his Sons, to whom he had giv'n the Government of *Anatolia*. *Corcut* being well inſtructed by the Miniſters of the Port what part he was to act, ſent very rich Preſents to the Grand Maſter, with a moſt obliging Letter, wherein he requeſted his friend-

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friendship; and conjur'd him, after a thousand offers of his services, that they might live together in Amity and good Correspondence, and that there might be a freedom of Trade between each others Subjects. He added, that his Father had given him all power, in reference to a peace, and that he was ready to do what ever the Knights desir'd. But these fair words could not dazle the Grand Master. He knew by the *Turks* themselves, who were his Spies, that the famous Pirate *Camali*, who had fitted out several Vessels at *Gallipoli* for the service of *Bajazet*, was just ready to set Sail out of the Straits with above fifty men of War, to attack the Isles that belong'd to the *Order*. So that without entring into any further Negotiation, he frankly declar'd, That being nominated General of the League by the Pope, he could not forsake the Common Cause, nor could hearken to any Peace which the Grand Seignior would not make with all the Princes of Christendom,

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as well as with the Knights of *Rhodes*.

The Grand Master declar'd himself upon this point so much the more boldly, because he knew, that seven of the Popes Galleys were jovn'd to the *Venetian* Armado at the Island of *Cerigo*, and that his Holiness was setting out thirteen more, the care of which he had given to the Knight *Fabricio de Caretta*, who was then at *Genoa*. This news was brought to *Rhodes* by an Envoy of the Bishop of *Baffo*, under whose Conduct the Galleys set Sail, and who had also in Charge a Brief from the Pope to be deliver'd to the Grand Master. This Brief contain'd many Applauses of the Grand Masters Actions, and many Excuses of the Popes Neglect: That he had the most sincere intentions in the world, but that the misfortunes of the times would not suffer him to keep his word; that he would repair what was past with advantage, and send Twenty Galleys instead of Fifteen.

But

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But to return to the *Sophi*. He had no ſooner eſtabliſh'd his Throne, partly by fair, partly by foul means, but he reſolv'd to extend his Conqueſts. Inſtead of advancing againſt *Egypt*, as he intended, he fell into *Armenia* with fourſcore thouſand fighting men, drawn thither by the Neighbourhood, and the hatred which he bore the *Turks*. In this Expedition, *Iſhmael* ſoon maſtered *Armenia*, after he had cut in pieces above twenty thouſand men. *Bajazet* alarm'd by the Succeſs of the Conqueror, gather'd all his Forces together to defend himſelf; but he could not believe himſelf able to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy, while he was at odds with the Chriſtians. For that reaſon he made Propoſitions of Peace to the Grand Maſter and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Grand Maſter, who had intelligence of every thing, and in particular knew the Conſternation of the Grand Signior, fail'd not to give notice of it to the Pope, that never a fairer opportunity offer'd it ſelf to ruine

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ruine the Common Enemy: That *Bajazet* was oblig'd to go in Person against the *Persian*, for want of a Basha experienc'd in Military Affairs, in whom he could absolutely confide: That the *Sophi*, a liberal and affable Prince, drew to his Party the Militia of the Grand Signior: That there was no likelihood of any accord between *Persia* and *Turky*, in regard a Conqueror hates nothing more then Peace. Therefore he besought his Holiness not to neglect the opportunity that Providence presented. But the Commotions in *Italy* render'd all these Remonstrances void. For while the *Turks* and *Persians* make War one against another, the *French* and *Spaniards* break the Peace which they had made. They had contracted an Alliance against *Frederick* of *Naples*, who succeeded *Ferdinand* his Nephew, and had got possession of his Dominions by force of Arms. But Ambition soon divided them, which it had united. *Lewis* the XII. and *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*,

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Castile, became jealous each of other; neither could endure a Competitor nor a Companion, both of them claim the whole Kingdom which they had parted betwixt them. And the differences of their Ministers, touching the limits of their common Conquests serving for a pretence, occasion'd a most bloody War, that fill'd all *Italy* with horrour and confusion.

The Bishop of *Baffo*, who had joyn'd himself with the Fleet of the *Venetians*, had intelligence of the Rupture between the two Crowns, at what time the Naval Army of the *Venetians* had taken the Island of *Santa Maura* from the *Turk*, with the assistance of a Squadron of Knights which the Grand Master sent them, and some Galleys of a *French* Captain, call'd *Pre' Jan de Bidoux*, a very understanding Seaman, and a very stout Souldier. Presently the Bishop gave a shrewd guess at the ill success of the League by the state of affairs in *Italy*, and, according to his Instructions, he gave

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gave notice to the Grand Master, That new divisions hinder'd his Holiness from being exact to his word. He added, That of Twenty Galleys promis'd by the Holy See, he had receiv'd but Thirteen; That he could not keep them above four months, without express command from the Pope; which were almost expir'd, and most certainly would not be prolong'd; That the *French* Fleet would not come at all; That Captain *Pré Jan de Bidoux* was gone from St. *Maura* upon the first intelligence of the Broils between *France* and *Spain*; That the *Venetians* being resolv'd to fortifie St. *Maura*, could not spare their Fleet any farther; so that Winter being at hand, he did not believe that the Confederate Princes would undertake any thing against the *Turk* this year.

However, the eager longing which the Grand Master had to see the League renew'd, and his joy for the taking *Santa Maura*, made him believe, that the flames of War be-

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between the *French* and *Spaniards* might be as easily extinguish'd as they were kindled; upon this consideration he resolv'd not to give off so. So that without taking any notice of the Bishop of *Baffo*'s advice, he fell again to writing to the Pope. After he had congratulated the Pope for the Success of his Galleys in the taking *Santa Maura*, he besought him to keep them still in readiness, and to excite the *Venetians* to prepare the most powerful Armado they could. He besought him to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, and to make use of all his Art in that particular. He press'd with new vehemency the Emperour, and other Kings, particularly the King of *England*, who was very powerful at Sea, and who was very zealous for the Interests of the Church. After which, committing the rest into the hands of Providence, he set himself to regulate the Customs both of the People, and the Knights.

In the first place, understanding, that

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that the *Jews* that dwelt in *Rhodes*, led a very scandalous life, and that their bad example was the occasion of many sins committed in the City, he took up a resolution to expel them. Having assembl'd a Council for this effect, he set forth, in a long discourse, all the evil that the Trade of the *Jews* might produce among the Faithful; and that an Order particularly consecrated to the defence of Christendom, ought to abhor a Nation which was so much the Enemy of Christ himself. Then he came in particular to the *Jews* of *Rhodes*, whom the Prodigies of the last Siege, and those upon the Wall, had harden'd the more.

The Grand Master's judgment was approv'd in Council, and they all decreed with one accord, that the *Jews* should depart the Island, and all the Territories of the Order, within fifty days. They were also forbid to settle in the East, lest they should prove spies to the *Turks*: and all that was permitted them, was, to put off their Goods

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in fourty days. But all sorts of Liberty and priviledges were offer'd, on the other side, to those that would turn Christians. As for their little Children, it was decreed, that they should be Baptiz'd whether their Parents would or no. And the Decree of Council was drawn in expres terms, That since it was the opinion of all Divines and Canonists, that the *Jews* were the Slaves of the Christian Princes, they had not the Right nor Jurisdiction of Parents over their Children. So that the Grand Master might dispose of them for the good of Christendom, and the Salvation of their Souls. Thereupon according to the power of the Laws, the *Jews* Children were Baptiz'd. And lest they should renounce their Christianity when they came to years of discretion, the Grand Master kept them at *Rhodes*, and brought them up at the publick Charge, in some measure doing the Duty and Office of a Father to them.

After this, the Grand Master appli'd

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pli'd himself to examine the Statutes of the Order, which the Vice-Chancellor *Caoursin* had reduc'd into a Method some years before. Some he cancell'd that were grow nout of use, the observation whereof did more harm then good, serving onely to multiply Quarrels and Suits of Law. Others he made new, according to the Constitution of the present Time. For seeing how far the Impiety and Luxury of the Knights had extended it self, who liv'd more like Seculars and Libertines, then men in Holy Orders, he ordain'd, That whosoe'er should swear by, or blaspheme the Name of God, or speak a word to the dishonour of the Virgin *Mary*, or the Saints, for the first fault should undergo the punishment of * *Lent*; for the second, two months imprisonment in the Castle; and for the third, be put in the publick Prison during the pleasure of the Grand Master and the Council;

* *Fast fourty days, and be whipt twice a week before the High Altar.*

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and that they that were put into these Prisons, should lose three years priviledge of Precedency.

He also forbade, that the Knights should habit themselves like other people of the world, or wear any thing that had the least semblance of Gallantry or Vanity. He order'd particularly, that their habits should be plain, and of one colour; and that if any Knight disobey'd this Order, besides the punishment of the Quarantine, his Habit should be confiscate to the Publick Treasury.

But though he lov'd Modesty in Habit, he was Magnificent in all things that concern'd the Ornament and Beautifying of the Church; as, the stately Tapestries, Statues of Silver, Crosses of Gold, Chalices, and Image-Chariots of *Malta*, engraven with his Arms for the most part, testifie to this day.

While he employ'd himself in this manner, in expectation of his Embassie & Letters in reference to the League, the *Spaniards*, who had for their Captain

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Captain in the Kingdom of *Naples* *Alexander Cordova*, ſir-nam'd the Great Captain, made moſt cruel War againſt the *French*; and both Parties grew ſo violent one againſt another, that there was no likelihood of Peace. The Pope, inſtead of labouring an accommodation and reconcilement between the two Nations, as the Grand Maſter had deſir'd him, openly favour'd the *Spaniards*, and fed the fire which he ought to have extinguiſh'd. Beſides, he had no other thoughts in his head, but how to Aggrandize *Ceſar Borgia* his Son, Duke of *Valentinois*, whom he paſſionately lov'd ſo far, as to dare any thing, and think any thing lawful for his advancement and enrichment. But that which directly ruin'd the *Croiſade*, was this, That the *Venetians*, tir'd with the War, made Peace with the *Turks*, after ſeveral private Negotiations, wherein the Knights of *Rhodes* were not taken notice of in the leaſt. By this Peace, the *Venetians* reſtord the Iſland of *Santa*

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Maura, which *Pesara* had fortifi'd at great Expences; and the Grand Signior engag'd himself to restore what he had taken from the *Venetian* Merchants, from the beginning of the War. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* soon follow'd the example of the Republick, making an agreement, though not very Honourable, with *Bajazet*. These sad tidings pierc'd the very heart of the Grand Master; and to add to his affliction, he understood at the same time, that his Holiness had conferr'd Commanderies of the Order upon Secular Persons, and that he had promis'd the Priorie of *Castile* to *Don Henry* of *Toledo*. Considering neither the Priviledges of *Innocent* the VIII. the Nature of the Revenues of the Order, nor the Dignity of the Generalissimo of the *League*, whom he had elected himself.

The Grand Master so highly resented such irregular proceedings, that he wrote to the Pope; and without swerving from that respect which he ow'd to the *Chief* of the Church,

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Church, and the Vicar of Chriſt, he told *Alexander* his own, as far as a real Zeal could inſpire him. But *Alexander* taking little notice of his Complaints, continu'd his affronts and injuries to the Order, and that with ſo much the more Liberty, believing, that now the *Venetians* had made Peace with the *Turks*, he ſhould have no more need of the Knights.

The League thus brok'n off, and the proceedings of the Pope, brought the Grand Maſter into a deep Melancholy, that waſted him by degrees, and at length caſt him into a mortal diſtemper. He began to fall ill the Eeve of St. *John Baptiſts* day. But then he would not diſcloſe that he ail'd any thing, and was preſent at the Bonfires, and at the publick Annual Ceremonies before the Caſtle, for which there are extraordinary preparations in Honour of the Patron of the Order. He alſo went in ſtate to Church upon the Feſtival day; and concealing his ill diſpoſition of body, perform'd all

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the Duties of a true Christian.

This striving against his Distemper out of Piety, re-doubl'd the force of the disease; so that in two days he fell so ill, that the Physicians at first despair'd of his life: nevertheless they were willing to try what Art could do. But the Grand Master, who perceiv'd himself near his end, slighted his own preservation, and told them with a smile, That never having taken Physick, it was dangerous for him to begin at his years. However, he submitted to the intreaties of his Nephew, and the reasons of the Physicians, notwithstanding his own natural reluctancy.

1503 The Grand Masters sickness, put all the City into a Consternation. The Inhabitants, like people in despair, ran to the Castle, and from the Castle to the Churches, to implore of God the life of their Prince. The whole City was fill'd with Vows, Prayers, and Processions. But his sickness encreasing more and more, he receiv'd the Sacrament of

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the Church with a lively Faith, and an ardent Devotion, which both edifi'd and pierc'd the hearts of all that ſtood by. After that, he call'd all the Knights of the Council, and recollecting all the ſtrength he had left; *My dear Brethren*, ſaid he, *I have no more then one ſhort moment to live; therefore before I leave you, take it not amiſs that I exhort you, to chooſe a Perſon more worthy then my ſelf to ſucceed in my Place; and that I conjure ye alſo to expend all your Honour in a generous defence of the Faith, and in the obſervation of the Rules of the Order. This is the favour that I beg of you as a dying man.* Hardly had he ſtrength enough to pronounce the laſt words; nor did he utter above two or three words more, to comfort the Knights, that ſhed tears round about his bed. At length he gave them his Benediction as his Children; and then lying quietly for ſome time, with his eyes ſometimes lifted up to Heaven, ſometimes fix'd upon the Crucifix,

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Crucifix, he seem'd to be in a kind of discourse with God, till he sweetly and mildly yielded up his
Anno last breath. At the very mo-
1503. ment of his expiration, the Knights made so loud a noise of lamentation, as eas'ly made known his death to the People, assembl'd in the Palace. Then was their sorrow soon expres's'd by their tears and wailings, and after that by a deep silence, as usually happens in extreme afflictions.

Thus di'd *Peter D' Aubusson*, Grand Master of *Rhodes*, Cardinal of St. *Adrian*, Legate of the Holy See in *Asia*, and nominated Generalissimo of the Holy League. He was aged about fourscore years, and he had goveth'd the Order above twenty seven.

So soon as grief would permit the Knights to come to themselves, they made it their bus'ness to render to the dead their last duties with all the Magnificence imaginable. He was expos'd upon a Noble Bed of State. Nor did the Ghastliness of

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of death deprive him of that ſweet and amiable Majeſty, that always appear'd in his countenance when alive. Three Knights ſtood at the Beds head in Mourning, one holding the Cardinals Cap, another the Legats Croſs, and the third the Standard of Generaliſſimo. Four other Knights held each of them a Banner, whereon were embroider'd the Arms of the *Order*, and thoſe of *D' Aubuſſon*. On each ſide of him ſtood two Altars, dreſs'd up with Canopies over each; on the one was laid the *Dalmatick Gown*, the *Mitre*, and all the Ornaments proper for a Cardinal Deacon. On the other lay the Caſque, Corſlet, Half-Pike and Sword, which the Grand Maſter made uſe of upon the day of the Grand Aſſault; together with his Cloathes, all ſtain'd with his own and the bloud of the Barbarians. Two hundred Knights attended beſides, all in deep mourning. The People that crowded to this fatal Spectacle, could not forbear

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bear weeping bitterly; they cri'd out, They had lost their Father; and then kiss'd his hands to ease their grief, and took their last leaves.

His Obsequies were perform'd the next day following, which the publick Grief contributed to render more solemn, then all the Funeral Pomp. He was carri'd to the Church upon the shoulders of the principal *Grand-Crosses*, and Interr'd in the Chappel he himself had built.

The first General Chapter that was held at *Rhodes* under *Emery D'Amboise*, his Successor, decreed, That in Honour of the Memory of the Grand Master *D'Aubusson*, the Order should, at the Expence of the Publick Treasury, erect him a Magnificent Tomb in Brass; and that an Epitaph should be Engrav'd upon it, reciting the most Illustrious Actions of his Life. The Historians of the Order of St. *John* do not mention this Epigram, and with all the diligence I have us'd, I could never hear

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hear any thing more of it. However, the Encomiums which Popes, Princes, and Hiſtorians have given the famous *Peter D'Aubuſſon*, may well ſupply the place of that Epitaph. *Sixtus* the IV. and *Innocent* the VIII. affirm in their Briefs, that the Holy See was infinitely oblig'd to him, and that they could not ſufficiently acknowledge the Services he had done the Faithful, in putting a ſtop, by his cares, and with the price of his own blood, to the Conqueſts of *Mahomet* the Second, the moſt Formidable Enemy of Chriſtendom. *Alexander* the Sixth confeſs'd, That there was in the Grand Maſter a Sincere Faith, an Heroick Valour, an Exquiſite Prudence, and a moſt perfect Experience in all things that concern'd the War againſt the *Turks*. The Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, and *Matthias Corvin* King of *Hungary*, often call'd him in their Letters, The Tamer of the *Ottomans*, and the Support of the Church.

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Church. *Caoursin* calls him, The Father of his Countrey, the Protector of the Unfortunate, and the Invincible Defender of *Rhodes*. *Victorellus*, in his Additions to *C. Ciaconius*, says, That all was great in him, his Wit, his Courage, and his Piety: That being invested with the Sacred Purple, he was never the more remiss in Military Duties; and that he had perform'd at one time Actions worthy of a Holy Cardinal, and a Generous Souldier. The same Author adds, That the Magnanimous *D' Aubusson*, in all the Conduct of his Life, had no other aim, then onely the Glory of God, and Honour of his Order; That he govern'd his Subjects with as much Lenity as Justice; and that his Paternal Goodness was principally eminent towards the Poor. The Ecclesiastical History speaks of him as of a most admirable Person, and one that merited all manner of Applause. In short, the History of the

Knights

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Knights of St. *John* extolls him above all the Grand Maſters, equals him to the Hero's of Antient times, and propounds him as a Model to all the Princes of Chriſtendom.

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A

CONTINUATION

Of the

HISTORY

OF

Rhodes,

Under the Government of *Philip de Villiers Lisle Adam*,

Containing the Siege of Solyman *the Magnificent, no less famous then that* Mahomet *the* II.

UPon the death of *Peter D' Aubusson*, *Emery D' Amboise*, Prior of *France*, then absent, was chosen in his place; in whose time, though *Bajazet* swore to besiege *Rhodes* with

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a puiſſant Army, yet he attempted nothing. He was a Prince, vertuous, valiant, charitable, and ſucceſsful in his Enterpizes; ſo that under his Government the Knights perform'd ſeveral notable Exploits to the honour of the Order, and won among the reſt that famous Victory at Sea from the Soldan of *Egypt*, ſignaliz'd by the death of the Soldan's Nephew who commanded the Fleet. To *Emery D' Amboiſe* ſucceeded, by a fair Election, *Guy de Blanchefort Prior of Auvergne*. In his time *Sultan Selim* having caus'd his Father *Bajazet* to be ſtrangl'd, and put to death *Achmac* and *Corcutt*, his two Brothers, with their Wives and Children, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Empire; wherein he was no ſooner ſettl'd, but he deſign'd to lay ſiege to *Rhodes*. The Report whereof alarum'd the Grand Maſter to make preparations for his defence; wherein he proceeded as far as could be expected, conſidering the ſhort time of his Government; for in leſs then a year he dy'd, and left his place to be ſupply'd by the *Admiral de Carretta*, who

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who the first thing he did, made a League with *Ishmael Sophi* the King of *Persia* against *Selim*. For understanding that the *Turk* still continu'd his vast preparations for War, he thought it was but a piece of common Providence to provide for himself. But the Storm fell upon the Soldan of *Egypt*, who being overthrown in Battel, lost all *Syria*, together with his life, in the first place; and soon after his Successor, having twice unfortunately fought *Selim* himself, and being by him at length taken and hang'd upon one of the Gates of *Caire*, lost all *Egypt*, of which *Selim* made himself absolute Master. But whether *Selim* intended any mischief against *Rhodes* or no, his death hasten'd the fate of *Rhodes*; for upon that the Empire fell to his Son *Solymon* the Magnificent, the shock of whose fury and puissance, upon the death of the *Admiral Caretta*, *Philip de Villiers* *Lisle Adam* *Prior* of *France*, was chosen to withstand; being elected Grand Master the 22d. of *January*, 1521. whose deportment in so Grand a 1521

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Siege would he too unkindly left out, where D' *Aubusson*'s Fame is so honourably expanded; it being certain that never two Courages were better mated in story. Never was a City more valiantly defended, nor more valiantly lost. And it is a question undetermin'd whether of the two got most, *Amurach* by rising from it, or *Solyman* by taking it; while the one prudently sav'd, the other became a meer prodigal of blood. *Philip de Villiers* was absent at the time of his being elected, and therefore *Gabriel de Pomerols* was chosen his Lieutenant till his arrival. Which dignity while he executed, he thought fit to send to the Pope a Model of the City of *Rhodes*, that he might see how it was fortifi'd. But that which might have prov'd of higher concern, was the arrival of another Embassador from the *Grand Sophi*, to continue that private correspondence which was begun with *Carretta*. Unluckily he finds *Carretta* dead; so that his Commission being at an end, he went to visit *Amurath* the Son of *Sultan Zelim*, in the behalf

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behalf of the *Sophi*. That young Prince was entertain'd by the Order at their own Expences in the Caſtle of *Ferracla*, whither the Knights ſent ſeveral Preſents to the young Sultan, that he might be able to gratifie the Embaſſador, who ſoon after return'd home to his own Prince, not ſo much as mentioning any thing of the buſineſs for which he was ſent.

The Grand Maſter being in *France* at the time of his Election, made all the haſte he could to his charge, departing from *Marſeilles* in the Carrack of *Rhodes*, together with four other hir'd Veſſels. But his Voyage ſeem'd to be ſomewhat inauſpicious. For one of the Veſſels was ſplit by the way; and the great Carrack it ſelf had like to have been burnt; being all on fire through the careleſneſs of the Cook, but was happily quench'd again through the induſtry and authority of the Grand Maſter. More then this, having paſt by *Nice* and *Corſica*, a flaſh of lightning ſhot it ſelf into the main Cabin of the Carrack, and melted his Sword without hurting the

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Scabbard. Which little accidents were by some interpreted as ill omens of the success of the Siege of the *Rhodes*, that soon after happen'd. *Cortogoli* also, the Grand *Turkish* Pirate laid way to intercept the Grand Master, with a great number of Gallys and Galeots, partly out of hopes of booty, partly to revenge the death of his Brothers which the Knights of *Rhodes* had slain, and to set the third at liberty; being then a slave in *Rhodes*. However the Grand Master, contrary to the advice and entreaties of the Knights and great Personages that attended him, with full sails made the Cape of St. *Angelo*, and in the night time pass'd the place where the *Turks* lay in wait for him, and arriv'd safe in *Rhodes*. *Cortogoli*, mad that he had so miss'd his prey, some time after enters into the Channel of *Rhodes*, hoping by his unlookt for coming to find some opportunity to do mischief. But being discover'd, the Grand Master sent forth the *Rhodian* Fleet against him, the fight whereof not only put him

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him to flight, but made him forsake a Vessel of *Candia* which he had almost taken.

While things were thus transacted at *Rhodes*, *Solyman* being come to the Empire, contrary to the Opinion of all men, that he would be a peaceable Prince; soon after displaying the inordinate Ambition of his Predecessors, with a vast power of men besieg'd *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, and took it. This Victory swell'd him up; so that burning with a desire to conquer *Rhodes*, yet willing to conceal his design, that he might the better make his preparations, he sent an Embassador to the Grand Master, to whom he deliver'd a Letter, written in the Greek Language, wherein he magnifi'd the Grandeur of his Empire, and his Victories, highly extoll'd the Vertues of the Grand Master, and offer'd him peace and friendship. The Grand Master, and those of the Council immediately understood the craft and fallacy of *Solyman*, and that being young and full of Ambition, his courage and deliberations tended to other

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designs then the Tenor of his Letter imply'd. And therefore there was an Answer return'd him in the name of the Grand Master; by which he plainly understood that he was discover'd; that the *Rhodians* neither fear'd nor trusted him; so that he was likely to find it afar more difficult task to conquer them, then he had found at *Belgrade*. Therefore he enter'd into several consultations about this Enterprize, concerning which the most part of his Council laid before him the difficulties he would meet with, and diswaded him from hazarding either his Forces or his Reputation upon an attempt so unlikely to succeed. And indeed *Mustapha Basha*, and *Curtogoli* were the only persons that fix'd him in his Resolution. Among other things they represented to him that there was no other means for him peaceably to enjoy the Provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria*; for that the shortest and only way for him to receive intelligence from thence, and to send thither, was cut off by the Knights of *Rhodes*, who spread themselves upon those Seas, and

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and intercepted all his Veſſels. For which reaſon he was conſtrain'd to keep a Fleet alwaies out at Sea: Beſides, that as long as thoſe of the Order kept footing in *Rhodes*, they would be continually animating and inciting the Chriſtian Princes to make War upon him, and to league themſelves together for the Recovery of the holy Land. He had found among the private Memoirs of *Selim* his Father, that the onely way for him to ſecure his own affairs, was to make himſelf Maſter of *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*; by the ſcituation whereof the Chriſtians had alwaies an opportunity to bring the War into the midſt of his Territories. He was alſo importun'd and preſs'd thereto by the complaints of the Inhabitants of *Metelin*, *Negropont*, *Caramania*, the *Morea*, and his new Subjects of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who were perpetually alarum'd, pillag'd, and plunder'd by thoſe of the *Order*. He was alſo the more incited thereto by the opportunity which preſented it ſelf by reaſon of the Diviſions and Wars between *Charles* the fifth and the

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the King of *France*, from whom all the main Succour must come, which the Knights could expect: and more then all this, by the daily intelligence which he had receiv'd from a Jewish Physician, whom *Selim* had sent to live in *Rhodes* for a Spy. This Physician expert in his Art, had perform'd many excellent Cures, and by his officiousness and diligence toward all people had so insinuated himself into the acquaintance and favour of the Principal Knights of the Order, that he easily div'd into their secrets, and sent his Advices to a Greek of *Scio*, who convey'd them to *Constantinople*. Among other things he advertiz'd *Solyman*, that there was a great part of the Wall thrown down near the Bulwark of *Auvergne* to be rebuilt according to the Design and Directions of the Engineers, so that the City might be easily surpriz'd, if his Fleet came in time to attacque it in that place. But the best Intelligence that *Solyman* receiv'd was giv'n him by *Andrew D'Amarall*, Prior of *Castile*, and afterward Chancellor of the *Order*,

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Order, who bare in his mind a mortal hatred and enmity againſt the Grand Maſter, ever ſince the difference that happen'd between them ever ſince the Battel of *Layaſſo*; and againſt the Order it ſelf, for that notwithſtanding all his underhand dealing for the Honour, they had elected with an unanimous conſent, the Grand Maſter, both for his merit and his vertues. This venom of Ambition, Malice and Revenge ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd him, and gain'd ſo far upon him, as to make him reſolve upon this hideous Act of Treaſon. The day of the Election he was heard to ſay, that this would be the laſt Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*: And ſome daies before the Siege, he wiſh'd his ſoul in the hands of the Devil, ſo that *Rhodes* and the Order might be ruin'd. He had in his ſervice a Turkiſh ſlave, of a quick and ready apprehenſion, to whom he pretended to have giv'n his Liberty, as being ranſom'd. This ſlave he ſent to *Conſtantinople* with a particular and exact diſcovery of the State of the City, of the Proviſions and Ammunition

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tion therein, and what Corn was wanting; perſwading the Great Turk to ſend his Fleet with all ſpeed, promiſing him a certain Victory, and to give him all the Intelligence that ſhould be requiſite.

Solyman found this to be ſound Intelligence, knowing that *Amaral* was one of the Principal Knights, and being of their Council, knew whatever was decreed or voted for the defence of the City; and ſent back the ſlave laden with gifts, and promiſes of future rewards. *Amaral* entertain'd him, pretending he had brought his Ranſom. This Action caus'd in many an extream diſlike, and a general ſuſpition of him, but by reaſon of his Dignity and Authority, there were none that durſt to ſpeak their minds freely.

In the mean time *Leo* deceas'd, after he had govern'd the Papacy eight years; and *Solyman* made all his preparations as privately as poſſibly he cou'd, giving it out that he intended either for *Apulia* or *Cyprus*. Nevertheleſs the Grand Maſter was adver-

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tiz'd of every thing by his Spies; and being assur'd that he should be besieg'd, sate in Council every day; and as often did *Amarall* labour to suppress the report of the Siege, as much as in him lay, to divert and hinder the Order from making those Provisions which were necessary for their defence; instancing how often such Rumours had been in vain, and how needless it was for the Order to put themselves to unnecessary charges at a time when their Exchequer ran low. However the Grand Master receiv'd more certain and pregnant Intelligence by a Ragusian, a person of understanding, and one that had the Turkish Language at command, whom he had sent to *Constantinople* for a Spy, that the Grand Signior was setting forth a vast number of Ships, and preparing all sorts of Engines of War, and Guns of an extraordinary bigness; and that there was a stop upon all persons going to *Rhodes* without the leave of the Governours. Thereupon the Grand Master making no farther doubt of the Truth, put all hands to the fortifications

fications, giving the charge thereof to the Knights, *Anthony Brito*, a *Portoguese*, and *Francis Nueres* of the Priory of *Aquitaine*. He also made provision of Ovens and Mills, and Lodgings for the Country people that should retire into the City. While these things were in hand, he sent to Pope *Adrian*, of whom he earnestly requested succour against the Turks; as also to the Emperour and the King of *France*, but in vain, because they were then in open War one against the other.

As for the Pope, he rather prejudic'd, then assisted them. For the *Italian* Knights being inform'd that he conferr'd every day Commanderies in *Italy* to their detriment, complain'd to the Council of *Rhodes*, and desir'd leave that they might go altogether to *Rome*, to make their complaints to his Holiness; which Liberty, considering the State of Affairs, was at that time deny'd them. Thus was the Pope the Occasion of an unseasonable disorder. For upon this the *Italians* openly complain'd of the Grand Master,

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ſter; while the Chancellor *Amarall* ſecretly blew the bellows of diſſention, and carry'd it ſo far, as to deny their ſervice to the Order, and to obey the Commands of the Grand Maſter. Thereupon the Grand Maſter depriv'd of their habit three of the Principal Ring-leaders, *Gabriel Solier*, *James Palavicino*, and *Lewis Moroſo*. And to juſtifie himſelf, he referr'd the whole to the conſideration and examination of the Council, who made their report, that the Grand Maſter had done nothing but what was juſt, prudent and rational. However ſome of the Knights fearing the miſchief of Commotion and Alteration at ſuch a conjuncture, made it their buſineſs to pacifie the *Italians*, laying before them, that the world would think and could not judge otherwiſe, but that they ſought for a pretence to go to *Rome*, not ſo much for the ſake of their Commanderies, as to eſcape the danger of the approaching Siege. Whereby the perſwaders wrought ſo far, that the Mutineers laid aſide their anger, made their excuſes and return'd

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to the Obedience of the Grand Master, who as kindly embrac'd and pardon'd them.

This bustle being over, there arriv'd at *Rhodes* an Agent from *Peri Basha*, who deliver'd a Letter to the Grand Master, wherein the *Basha* invited him to a Treaty of Peace with the Grand Signior, assuring him that if he sought it, he should be well receiv'd; and advising him withall to send for that purpose persons of Quality to the Port. The Embassador also deliver'd other Letters from the Grand Signior himself, much to the same effect. Most part of the Council, considering the Age of *Peri*, who was ancient, and his known prudence and moderation, had a good opinion of the Truth of the Embassie, insomuch that they resolv'd to send to *Constantinople* the Chevalier *Marquet Cataline*, and with him a *Rhodian* named *Castrophylaca*, a person of great judgment, and well skill'd in the Turkish Language, to conclude a Peace in the same manner as it had been concluded in the time of *D' Aubusson.*

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Busson. But when they were consulting about their Instructions, some better considering of the business, began to be of opinion; that *Peri* was only a dissembler, and observ'd that *Solymans* Letter gave no credence to that of *Peri*, and that it was not practicable to send an Embassadour without a safe conduct in ample manner from the Grand Signiour. While they were in these doubts, the Grand Master was advertiz'd that *Peri's* Embassadour wandred about the City, and with a diligent eye observ'd the Fortifications, and made enquiries after the Quantity of Provisions, the number of Souldiers, aud what relief was expected. This open'd the eyes of the Council and gave them to understand that they were abus'd, and that the Embassadour was only come as a spie. Thereupon they presently sent him away; ordering a Greek of mean Quality to go along with him, to whom they gave two Letters, one to *Solyman*, the other to the *Basha*, where in a few words the Grand Master declar'd that he had intelligence of

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every thing, and that he had neither any thought or fear of the Grand Signiour, or of his forces. Nevertheleſs he deſir'd a ſafe conduct for an Embaſſadour, and offer'd to reſtrain the Incurſions of thoſe of the Order. The Embaſſadour being arriv'd at *Port Fiſco*, found Horſes there ready for him, and went Poſt to *Conſtantinople*, leaving the Greek behind; who being unwilling to travel alone through an Enemies Country ſo far a journey, return'd to *Rhodes* in the ſame Veſſel that carry'd him. By which miſcarriage every one was then aſcertain'd that the Embaſſie was but only a deceit, and that the Town would ſuddainly be beſiedg'd.

The City was well provided of Fleſh, pulſe, and wheat, of which there was enough all the time of the ſiege; & as for warlike munitions it was thought there had bin enough, though the Siege had laſted a whole year. But they found it otherwiſe, for they ſpent a great quantity to hinder the approaches of the Enemies Trenches: beſides the continual waſt of powder and ſhot

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day & night against so many thousands of busy Enemies. Thereupon the Chevalier *Antonie Bosio*, a person of a quick Capacity, and one who did many services for the Order, while he liv'd, was sent into *Candy* for wine, and to make a Levy of Archers; but the *Candiots*, afraid of the *Turk*, forbid him to raise any men; However under pretence of a convoy for his freight, he brought away four hundred Archers, which did eminent service all the time of the Siege. The same *Bosio* met also upon the Sea with a *Venetian*, whose name was *Anthony Bonaldi*, coming from *Alexandria* in a great Vessel laden with Wine and bound for *Constantinople*. But *Bosio* perswaded him to alter his Course, and bring his Cargo to *Rhodes*; where after he had sold his Wine, he put himself and his men into the service of the Order, and behav'd himself during the siege, like a person of great valor. And now intelligence came from all parts, especially from the Duke of *Nixia*, that the Galleys were lanching, and that the whole fleet would depart at the Latter end of *May*.

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Thereupon the Grand Master caus'd a General Muster to be made as well of the Knights, as of the other Souldiers. As to those of the Habit, there appear'd one and fifty of the Language of *Province*; 26 of that of *Auvergne*; Sixty two of *France*; Forty seven of *Italy*; Fifty one of *Arragon*, *Catalogne* and *Navar*; Eleven of *England*; Six of *Germany*; Fifty seven of *Castile*; besides 13 others more that kept guard in the Castle of St. *Nicholas*. The whole Garrison consisted of about 5000 men. After the muster was thus made, the Grand Master appointed to every Commander his particular duty, what Posts, what Bastions to keep or relieve as necessity requir'd; and what Knights to be continually about his own person. Particularly *William Watson* commanded the English Post. *Nicholas Hussey* the English *Bastion*; and *Thomas Sheffeild* was Captain of St. *Anthonies* Gate.

The City was in this posture, when there was a signal made by fire from *Fisco*, that there were some persons there which desir'd to parley. Thereupon

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upon the Grand Maſter ſent the Knigh *Boniface D'Alluys* a *Provençal* thither with his Gally. When he came neer the place where the fire was, certain horſemen that ſtood upon the ſhore gave the Knight to underſtand that they had a Letter to deliver from the Grand Signiour; and invited him a ſhoar: But the Knight too well underſtanding the humour of the *Turks*, told them he had but a ſhort time to ſtay, and therefore if they had any thing to ſay, they ſhould diſpatch quickly, otherwiſe he would not tarry. Thereupon the *Turks* threw a Letter ty'd to a ſtone into the Galley; which Letter was deliver'd to the Grand Maſter, and read in Council. In this Letter *Solyman* demanded that *Rhodes* ſhould be ſurrender'd up to him, promiſing ſecurity, and good uſage to all in general, with liberty to the Inhabitants to enjoy their own Laws and Religion, permiſſion to them that would depart freely with their families and eſtates, and great advantages to them that would take up Armes in his ſervice. Otherwiſe he threaten'd utterly

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to ruin the City, walls and Towers, and to make the Inhabitants all slaves. To this the Council thought it not convenient to return any answer, but to stand resolutely upon their guard. Thereupon the Grand Master having certain advice that the Fleet was under sail, defac'd all the Gardens without the City, beginning with his own, and caus'd the Earth and rubbish to be carry'd into the Town, where it was of great use for the repair of breaches. He sent also for the Country people in, poyson'd the waters, and burnt the Corn and straw that remain'd upon the Ground. The Vanguard of the Fleet that first appear'd consisted of 30 Gallys; out of which some few of the *Turks* landed in *Lango* to burn and pillage according to their custom. But the Commander of the Fort mounting all his men, charg'd them so vigorously, that having slain five or six, and taken three prisoners, he drove the rest to their Galleys, though his own Horse were kill'd under him, and some few of his men wounded. Thereupon the *Turks* left *Lango*, and made to the

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Jews Castle, and so entring the Gulf of *Essimes*, about fifteen miles from *Rhodes* they were first discover'd by the sentinels from Mount *Sallac*. The 24*th*. of *June*, being St. *Johns* day, the *Turks* came to an anchor on that side of *Rhodes*, where stood the Castle *Favit*. There they landed, and burnt the Corn upon the ground, & the same day the body of the Fleet appear'd in the Gulf of *Essimes*, where the 30 Galleys joyn'd with the main Body. And yet the danger being so neer, there happen'd almost as dangerous a Contest between the *Auvergnian*, and *German* Languages; while the *Germans* pretended that one part of the new *Bastion* next St. *Georges* Gate belong'd to them, and the *Auvergnians*, claim'd it to themselves; insomuch that they had like to have come to blows. But the Grand Master interposing his Authority, the decision of the controversie was referr'd to the next General Chapter. In the mean time it was order'd that no other ensigns should be set up there but those of the Grand Master and of the Order.

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The 26 of *June* the whole Fleet was discover'd making directly from the Gulf of *Essimes* for *Rhodes*; and coming to that part of the Isle which is call'd the *Fos* or *Hole*, 8 miles from *Rhodes*, they came to an Anchor; which not a little consternated the women and common people of the City. But the Grand Master without the least shew of Alteration in his Countenance, with his accustom'd constancy and serenity, went up and down from place to place providing for every thing; and that very day, which seem'd to be the most terrible, caus'd Service to be said, and Processions to be made with the same order and tranquility, as if it had bin in a time of undisturb'd peace. After that, he caus'd the Gates to be shut, and issu'd out of his palace arm'd, and attended by his guards, causing the Drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound, the Souldiers to take their appointed Posts, and set up the standards and ensigns upon the several Towers and *Bastions*, which a far off afforded a noble and magnificent sight, reviv'd the courage of the Souldiery, and settled

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tled the Resolution of the people. In the mean time the 30 Galleys made up to Cape St. *Martin*, there to keep Guard, and to surprize such Vessels as should come to bring relief to the besieged. Late in the evening the whole Fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, left the *Foss* or *Hole*, and passing by the Port at three miles distance, came and rode in another part of the Island at a place call'd *Parambolin*, six miles from the City; because it was a rode secure from the West winds that blow hard in that Channel. Some dayes after the rest of the Fleet joyn'd, and lay there at an Anchor all the time of the Siege.

There were in this Fleet a hundred Galleys, besides the thirty before mentioned; thirty great Galeasses, fifteen Mahons, twenty Flat-bottom'd Boats, sixty Fusts, and a great number of Brigantines, ten or twelve great Ships, as big as Gallions, carrying provisions. Some few daies after arriv'd more from *Syria*, and other parts; so that the whole Fleet consisted of 400 Sail of all sorts, and the Army of two hundred

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hundred thousand men, of which sixty thousand were Pioneers.

The same day that the Fleet arriv'd at *Parambolin*, the Grand Master dispatch'd the Chevalier *Bresols* to the Pope, the Chevalier *Andugar* to the Emperour and King of *Spain*, and the Chevalier *D'Anssonville* to the Kings of *England* and *France*, to give them notice of the Siege, and to crave succour. Other Knights he dispatch'd away to buy all the Ammunition and war-like Provisions they could, and to hasten back with all speed to *Rhodes*. He also sent away summons to the absent Knights, to repair forthwith to the defence of their Island.

The *Turks* were thirteen daies before they made one shot, or any other attempt, by reason that the *Lycian* Army was not come up; but no sooner was that Army enter'd the Island, but the *Turks* began to set up their Pavilions, and to lodge their Camp in a place out of the reach of the *Rhodian* Artillery, to land their Guns, mount and plant them, open their Trenches, and make their approaches. Then it was

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was that the Grand Master left his own Palace, and took up his Quarters in St. *Marys* of the Victorie, as being the weakest part of the City, and upon which the *Turks* in ther former Siege had made their chiefest Assaults. At the same time also the *Turks*, for a beginning, rais'd a little Penthouse of Boards, from whence they shot at the Posts of *England* and *Provence*. But the Artillery from the Town immediately ruin'd it, and kill'd the Cannoneers. After that they rais'd two other Batteries upon the Hill of Saint *Cosmus*, and St. *Damian*, and shot against the Posts of *England* and *Spain*, but the shot from the City ruin'd those in the same manner.

As the *Turks* were labouring to advance their Trenches to the place where they design'd to plant their Canon, the besieg'd were very desirous to make a Salley; to which the Grand Master having giv'n his consent, St. *Athanasius*'s Gate was open'd, and out they fell upon those that were working in the Trenches; with whom they made such work, that the *Turks* wer

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were all cut to pieces, before any relief could come to them. But then the besieged observing a great Body making toward them, retir'd skirmishing under the *English* and *Spanish* Guns, which then playing upon the Enemy, made a dreadful havock among them, in regard they came on so thick, that it was impossible for a bullet to miss. The Christians afterwards made some Sallies with like success; but because some one or other still fell, the Grand Master considering that the loss of one man was more to him then the loss of a hundred to the Enemy, forbid any more Sallies to be made: For it was observ'd, that during the Siege the first Army was recruited with above a hundred thousand men; which was an easie thing for them to do, having the Land so near them to befriend them, and such a number of Vessels every day ready at command.

The Galleys being over, the *Turks* advanc'd their Trenches with more freedom. So that they rais'd in several places above sixty Batteries, chiefly against

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againſt the Poſts of *England*, *Provence*, *Spain* and *Italy*; but the Artillery from the Town overthrew ſo many, that only thirty four remain'd.

At that time arriv'd at *Rhodes* a Gentleman whoſe name was *Gabriel Radin Martinengo*, a perſon well known for his skill in Fortifications, whom *Bozio* had perſwaded to leave *Candy* and come to the aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*. Him the Grand Maſter highly honour'd, gave him the habit of the Order, and permiſſion to wear the Croſs; made him ſupernitendant over the Artillery, with a promiſe of the firſt Vacancy that fell in the *Italian* Language: honours which he highly deſerv'd, by carrying himſelf ſo nobly and vertuouſly all the time of the Siege.

Now that the Grand Maſter might ſet him at work, he ſignifi'd his deſire to know the condition of the *Turkiſh* Army, and what they intended to do. Whereupon, a Mariner, born in *Trebizond*, then in the ſervice of the Order, took ſeven or eight young men of his acquaintance, and having ſhav'd

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and clad themſelves in Turkiſh Habit, they took Melons, Cowcumbers, and other fruits, and ſecretly embark'd themſelves the next night: and avoyding the Turkiſh Fleet, made out to the Sea, and ſo return'd by break of day in ſight of *Rhodes*, as if they had come from *Turky*. From thence they made to the *Cape* which is neareſt to *Lycia*, where the Merchants met from all parts to ſell Refreſhments of all ſorts to the Army. There they put to ſale their Melons and Cowcumbers, and Frankly inquir'd what news of the Army. The *Turks*, who took them for natural *Turks*, as willingly ſatisfy'd them, and told them the whole condition of their Forces. When they had ſold all, and underſtood all, they made out to Sea again, having receiv'd two *Turks* into their Veſſel, with much entreaty, that were weary of an Army Life. Thoſe they bound hand and foot, and brought along with them into *Rhodes*, and preſented to the Grand Maſter, who order'd the *Prior* of St. *Giles*, and *Martinengo* to examin them. Theſe two *Turks* being

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ing carry'd up to the steeple of St. *John*, shew'd the *Prior* and *Martinengo* how the Quarters of the Turkish Army were dispos'd; told them the Number of the Souldiers; that *Solyman* himself was speedily expected; that the Souldiers grew out of heart, and mutined against their Commanders, being weary of a war, to which they cry'd they were lead as to a Slaughter House, with many other things not believ'd at first, as being thought to have bin spoken out of flattery, or to procure good entertainment to themselves, but which were indeed really true. For *Peri Basha* observing a manifest and dangerous Mutiny in the Army, dispatch'd away a Courrier to *Solyman* to give him Intelligence, and to supplicate him to come in person forthwith, that he might put a stop to the sedition by his presence and Authority. *Solyman* flies through *Asia* the less with an incredible speed, and embarking at Port *Fisco*, arriv'd in *Rhodes* the 28th. of *July*, where he was receiv'd with great triumph, and lodg'd himself four or five miles from the City at a place

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call'd *Megalandra*, out of the reach of the Canon. *Solyman* held a council, and resolv'd upon a strict enquiry whence the Mutiny proceeded, and a severe punishment of the Authors. But *Peri Basha* by his grave remonstrances soon softned and appeas'd his wrath. He laid before him that this mutiny rather proceeded from fear & an apprehension of danger then from Malice or Rebellion, and that therefore his Majesty might by his authority reduce them to their duty, knowing that the *Turks* had the *Ottoman* name in so much Veneration, that upon his appearance they would soon recollect themselves, and return to their Obedience; but that Rigour was now unseasonable, especially against the old Souldiers, without whose assistance he could never compass so great a design as the taking of *Rhodes*. *Solyman* hearken'd to his advice, assembled all the Army together, made them lay down their Armes, and prostrate themselves upon the Ground: then sitting on a Royal Throne, under a Rich Canopy, turning his face this way and

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" that way with a Majestick and stern " Countenance, He first accus'd their " Infidelity; hightn'd the injuries done " by the Knights of *Rhodes* to his Sub- " jects, advanc'd his own power, his " Triumphs and his Victories; upbrai- " ded the Old Souldiers of Ingratitude, " as having enrich'd themselves by his " fortune in war; of Cowardice, to " let such a handful of men make head " against such a Potent and flourishing " Army. *Lastly*, said he, am not I here " the Companion of your dangers? " Nor will I part from hence till I " have them in my power. I swear " it by the holy head of divine *Ma-* " *homet*; and if I fail, may my King- " domes and my house be ruin'd, and " my own person perish eternally. Go " then, and think of nothing else but " what you are commanded. Nor let " any man distrust my clemency, nor " my word, but build upon my Libera- " lity. For I am here the spectator and " judge of your Valour & your Merits.

Solyman had no sooner ended his Harangue, but he withdrew into his Pavilion, and commanded that the Soul-

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diers should be all sworn anew to their Captaines. And from that time it was, that the Souldiers recover'd their courage, became more obedient and deliberate, and proceeded in all things with more order and conduct. Now they continu'd their batteries more terribly then before. They also play'd in three several places with two great brass-Cannons like Morter-Peices, that carry'd marble-bullets of a prodigious weight, and yet all the harm then to kill 25 men, and the Chevalier *Lyoncel* that commanded the Bastion of *Cosquin*. This battery they left off by the advice of the Jewish Physitian, who gave them notice how little good it had done. After the *Turks* made it their busmess to advance their trenches, and to fill up the moats with Earth; and though the Artillery of the Christians continually fir'd upon them, nevertheless they gave not over their work till they had finish'd a great battery, between the *Spanish* and *Auvergnian* Post, and another against that of *Italy*, and there they lodg'd their Cannon that play'd upon the besieg'd so furiously

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furiously that they durst not peep above the battlements, till they had made themselves new defences of wood and plankes, upon which the Besiegers having advanc'd their trenches to the side of the Moat, made certain gaps in the wall on their side, through which they much annoy'd the defendants with their Musket-shot, and kill'd some few of them. In the mean while the Captains lodg'd themselves in their Trenches: *Mustapha* the General against the Bul-wark of *England*, *Peri* against the *Italian* Post, *Achmat* against that of *Spain*, and *Auvergne*, with the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* against that of *France*; the *Beglerbey* of *Romania* against the Gardens of St. *Antony*, who began a battery at the beginning of *August*, against the *German* Post, which was weak, and without any platform. Nevertheless the Grand Master caus'd it to be fortify'd within with intrenchments of Earth, great pieces of Timber-planks, and Bavines, and play'd his Artillery so thick from several places and Posts on that side, so that

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he dismounted the Artillery, and overthrew the batteries of the *Turks* till they were aweary of repairing them, and so remov'd them.

By this time it was that the *Rhodians* began to find the want of their powder, and though the Grand Master continually employ'd fourteen of his own horses to bray saltpeter, and other materials proper to make powder in a sure and well-guarded place, yet the besieged were forc'd to be very sparing of their powder, which gave great advantage to the enemy. The *Turks* seeing no good to be done on that side, play'd upon the steeple of St. *Johns* Church, and beat it down, upon advice giv'n them by the Jewish Physitian, that from thence the Christians discover'd what was done in the Camp. The ruin of this steeple being a lovely structure was much lamented by the Inhabitants. This done, the Besiegers under the command of the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia* remov'd their batteries against the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, which they furiously play'd upon for the space of ten days with twelve

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welve great pieces of Canon; but the Artillery from the Tower broke and ruin'd all their batteries, so that the *Beglerbey* was constrain'd to change the form of his batteries, to remove his mantlets; (which are made of Earth close ramm'd, and clos'd with boards fasten'd together with great spars of timber) to dismount his Guns, and plant them in the night upon great plat forms without gabions or Mantlet, with which playing securely all the night, when day appear'd they cover'd them again with Earth and grave!. Thus they made above 500 shot which onely beat down a pane of the wall on the west-side, through which appear'd another good wall, and so many stout defendants, that these difficulties being related to *Solyman*, he caus'd the said Battery to be remov'd, whereby the Chevalier *Castellaine* Captain of St. *Nicholas* Tower acquir'd great honour. At the same time the *Turks* rais'd 14 Mantelets against the Posts of *England* and *Spain*, upon which they planted Guns of a prodigious bigness, and play'd upon them

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for a month together, so that they ruin'd the new wall of the *English* Platform, while the old wall stood entire; beside that they brought through their trenches unto the Moat three huge peices of Canon, with which they levell'd the defences of the Bastion of *Spain*, and beat down the wall, by the ruins whereof the *Turks* might easily mount the Bastion. The same Battery they rais'd against the Bastion of *Provence* with three peices of Canon planted upon the side of the Moat, and in a small time threw down more then the besiegers in a long time were able to repair. Then the Grand Master leaving St. *Maries of the Victory* came to St. *Athanasius* Gate, and lodg'd himself under the *English* wall, and there he constituted four Captains, allotting to each ten Knights, besides the Ordinary Guard to succour and preserve the *English* wall. Besides all this, the *Turks* continually play'd with their *Sacres* and *Falcons*, and other small Artillery; and the besieged did the like, which stood them in no small stead to ruin their Mantlets, and

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and dismount their peices. Among the rest, a Culverin shot pierced through a Mantlet upon one piece, kill'd five men, and carry'd away both legs of the *Turkish* Canoneer, of which he dy'd. *Solyman* was much troubl'd for his loss, insomuch that he said he had rather have lost one of his Basha's. Nor was the *Italian* Post more mercifully handl'd, which was continually batter'd by seventeen pieces of Canon, so that it had bin an easy thing to have mounted the wall by the ruins that fell into the Moat. Yet though this long battery had made a great breach in the *Italian* Post, yet would not the besiegers venture an assault, but onely continu'd to make their approaches and to ruin the entrenchments, and defences of the besieged. Which the Chevalier *Martinengo* seeing, with the Grand Masters permission, made a sally with about an hundred choice men, and falling upon the Enemy unawares, kill'd & put to flight whatever stood in their way, and so with one prisoner and the head of another, return'd with

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great applause. The *Turks* that came in heaps to the relief of their own, were miserably torn to pieces by the Artillery of the Town, having no shelter, and lost a greater number in their retreat then *Martinengo* slew.

This being the condition of the City, the Grand Master, who knew it would not be long ere they gave a General Assault, dispatch'd away *Bosio* to the Pope, and his Secretary into *Provence* and to the King of *France*, beseeching them to hasten the succours which he expected from them. Being also desirous to know what news was in the *Turkish* Camp, one *Carpathio* a *Rhodian* undertook to satisfy him, and getting out of the Post in a Brigantine with a crew of good Souldiers clad after the *Turkish* manner, he coasted along the shoar as far as the *Fos*, where he saw several Souldiers that were taking the fresh Air by the Sea-side, who immediately discover'd him. The *Rhodiot* put on a bold face, and in the *Turkish* Language call'd to them aloud, and told them, the *Basha* had sent for them,

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them, which they easily believ'd, and went aboard the *Brigantine*. One of the *Turks* finding he was in the wrong, drew his Sword and wounded the *Rhodiot* in the thigh, for which the *Rhodian* repay'd him by cutting off his head; the rest being elev'n, were easily master'd, and brought to the Grand Master.

Now *Martinengo* seeing the great ruins which the Enemies Artillery had made, rais'd barricadoes, and wrought entrenchments upon the walls, where he planted a good number of Guns, which playing into the Enemies Trenches, kill'd a great Number of the *Turks*; he also lodg'd several Souldiers under the shelter of the houses, who shot incessantly, and made a great slaughter.

The Batteries of the *Turks* not succeeding to their wishes, they fell to mining; and had in several parts of the City made above forty, so that of six parts of the City, five in a few days were undermin'd. But the most part of those Mines prov'd ineffectual, because of the Counter-mnies which were

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were continually made round about. There was one that was perceiv'd in the midst of the Trench of *Provence*. But *Martinengo* immediately enter'd the Trench, open'd the Mine, and casting in barrels of Powder and other combustible stuff, burnt and stifled all the *Turks* within. Another Mine the *Turks* made under the Bulwark of *England* which play'd the fourth of *September*, and blew up above seven times nine foot of the wall, and fill'd the Moat so full of rubbish, that the *Turks*, that they might easily mount the wall, and come on furiously to the Assault with their accustom'd cries, gain'd the top of the Bastion immediately, and set up seven of their Colours, and had made themselves masters of it, but for an Intrenchment which *Martinengo* had made the day before, which stood entire about four foot from the Ruins of the wall. That Intrenchment stopt the Enemy; and thither the Knights ran and came to a close fight with Pike and Sword; while others did great mischief to the Enemy with hand-Granadoes and other Artificial fires; and there

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there it was that *Martinengo* and the Chevelier *de Bidoux* did wonders, becoming men of Extraordinary valour and courage. Here they came to Sword and Dagger, and even to coller one another; the *Turks* perceiving that if they could but get the victory here, they might eaſily get into the City. And indeed that ſmall handful of Chriſtians that ſuſtain'd the weight of ſuch a multitude, could not have bin able to have held out, had not the Grand Maſter, upon the noiſe of the blowing up of the Mine haſted to their Relief, and with the Knights of the reſerve, and the Souldiers of his guard, ruſh'd into the midſt of his Enemies, and charg'd them ſo furiouſly, that in a ſmall time a good part of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſo ſmartly repuls'd, that they quitted the fight, and fled in confuſion, and diſorder'd and aſtoniſh'd thoſe that were coming to their aſſiſtance, ſo that neither the threats, nor Exhortations of the Captains could ſtop them. Which the General *Muſtapha* ſeeing, flew out of the Trenches in great indignation, crying

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crying to the fugitives aloud, that if they would not return to the Assault, he would go on without them, and having so said, boldly march'd toward the breach.

His countenance and Language inspir'd the fugitives with new vigour, so that they rally'd and return'd with their *Basha* more resolutely then before to the Assault, and maintain'd the fight for above two hours. At length the Christians redoubling their courage, and animated by the presence and Example of the Grand Master, fell upon the *Turks* with that fury, that being no longer able to resist, they turn'd their backs; besides the *Rhodian* Canoneers had planted certain pieces against the bottom of the breach which play'd upon the *Turks* retiring, so successfully, that they kill'd more then were slain in the Assault. Two thousand of the *Turks* were slain that day: of the *Rhodians* twelve or fifteen slain out-right; and fifteen or twenty wounded. In the midst of these encounters the Chevalier *Didier de Puy* Governour of *Ferracta* gave notice to the Grand Master,

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ſter, that he had taken certain *Turks*, who confeſs'd that there were in *Rhodes* certain Perſons of Quality who ſent the Enemy Intelligence of what was deliberated & concluded in Council, and of all that was done in the City, and that the *Turks* were digging a large Mine nere St. *John's de Collaccio*. This was no ſmall trouble to the Grand Maſter, ſo much the more becauſe he was forc'd to conceal his reſentments, by reaſon that no perſons were nam'd. However he promis'd a large reward to thoſe that could diſcover the Mine. But it was not long before it diſcover'd it ſelf under the Baſtion of *England*, by ſeven a clock in the morning upon the ninth of *September*, overthrowing about nine yards of the wall next to the Mine before-mention'd, and came to the very barricado's before they met with any reſiſtance. But when the Dread and terrour was once over, the Knights reſuming their wonted courage, put the *Turks* to a ſhameful retreat, till forc'd by the ſwords and ſcimitars of their Commanders, even of their General himſelf, they return'd

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again with more vigour, and renew'd a bloody fight; but the Grand Master coming to the relief of his own with his reserve, fought them with so much fury for three hours, that the *Turks* no longer able to abide so powerful a defence, quitted the fight, and retir'd into their Trenches, leaving one of their Ensignes behind them. This Assault cost the Great *Turk* three thousand of his men, and three *Sangiacs*; of the Christians about 30 were slain and some of the Knights wounded.

The *Turkes* repuls'd with so much loss in two assaults, began again to murmur and discommend the enterprize as rash and impossible. Which *Solyman* perceiving, began to despair, and to be offended against *Mustapha*. The mean time *Peri Basha* to preserve himself in the good Opinion and favours of the Grand Signiour, press'd him continually to make a furious battery of 17 Canons against the *Italian* Post: But the besieged still repair'd with so much speed and diligence whatever the Enemies Artillery ruin'd, and play'd their great and small shot with

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with so much success, that the *Turks* durst hardly peep out of their Trenches. The *Beglerbeg* of *Natolia* did the same against the Post of *Provence*, and fell to mining very industriously, being advis'd thereto by a treacherous *Greek*, who under pretence of trade had well observ'd the strength of the City. But the most remarkable accident was the killing of the Governour of *Negropont*, and *Solyman*'s Favorite, who riding by the *Italian* Post richly clad with a red Battoon in his hand, was hit by a musket-bullet from the *Italian* Post, and fell down dead immediately; to the great grief of *Solyman*.

Peri enrag'd against the *Italians*, resolv'd to make a most terrible assault upon their Platform; which he did so unexpectedly and with so much speed, that the sentinels that stood without the Entrenchment were kill'd before they could be succour'd. But the *Italians* taking the Alarum, and being well seconded by the Grand Master and his usual guard, in an hours time the Bastion was well soak'd with the Blood of the *Turks*. *Peri*, finding such

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such a stout resistance here, and believing that other places were left naked, gave immediate order for other forces to assail the New Bastion of the Grand Master *Garretta*; but there the Chevalier *Angelot* Captain of the Bastion so behav'd himself, having a good number of Souldiers and Citizens with him, that the most part of the *Turks* were either kill'd or wounded, and the Flanking Artillery of other Bastions made such havock among the thick multitudes of the *Turks*, that at length, quite dismay'd, they began to retire. *Peri* thereupon seeing the Souldiers would no longer abide the heat of such a terrible encounter, sounded a general Retreat, though with the loss of more men then in the former combats.

Not long after *Mustapha*, covetous to repair his honour, and to regain the favour of the Grand Signiour, resolv'd to give a third assault to the Bastion of *England*. He imparted his resolution to the *Achmat*, who agreed with him at the same time to assail the Bastions of *Spain* and *Auvergne*.

Upon

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Upon the 3*d.* of *September Mustapha* unexpectedly fell upon the Bastion, mounted the Ruins, and fix'd their Ensigns neer the *Rhodian* Entrenchments, and at the same time endeavour'd to make their way forward. The fight was terrible and doubtful: neither was *Mustapha* wanting in any part of a judicious and couragious Captain. *Achmat* also at the same time play'd two Mines, one in the *Auvergnian*, the other in the *Spanish* Post. The *Auvergnian* Mine prov'd ineffectual; the *Spanish* Mine brought down a considerable part of the wall of the *Barbacan* of the said Bastion. And yet for these dreadful Ruins, the Christians so well behav'd themselves in every place, that the *Turks*, having lost above 3000 men, were forc'd to retreat with shame to their Trenches. Two dayes after the *Jewish* Physitian (often spok'n of before) was discover'd shooting an Arrow into the *Turkish* Camp, with a Letter fasten'd to the end of it. Thereupon he was apprehended; and upon his examination confess'd that he was a Spy for the

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Turks; that he had sent them five Letters; that he had given them several advices; and had encourag'd them to continue the Siege: For which He was condemn'd to be quarter'd.

After these Repulses, and the giving fire to three other Mines soon after, that did little or no harm, the *Basha*'s consulted together, and resolv'd to give a general assault upon fore several places of the City all at a time. *Solyman* approv'd their Resolution, assembl'd his Captains together, encourag'd and chear'd them up; and assur'd them of Victory; and by publick Proclamation gave the common Souldiers the whole Plunder of the City. Thus the whole Army resum'd their wonted courage, and full of Hopes prepar'd themselves for a general Assault. As a preparation to which the *Basha*'s order the *English* Bulwark, the Posts of *Spain* and *Auvergne*, and the *Italian* Platform to be batter'd for two dayes together, on purpose to widen and enlarge the Breaches.

The Grand Master observing this universal motion of the Enemy, and their

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their continual Batteries for 24 days together, with an extraordinary diligence, prepar'd for his defence. Day and night he visited all the Posts, earnestly besought every one to be watchful and ready; and having taken a little repose in his armes, by break of day he rang'd the Souldiers in their several Posts; and that there might remain no fear or astonishment among them, he made "them a short speech, Declaring "to them the glorious opportunity "which offer'd it self for them to sig- "nalize their Zeal for the honour of "God, & their fidelity to their Order "and the welfare of Christendom; and "their affection to a people that had "liv'd under their Dominion for above "200 years. He gave them to un- "derstand how often they had prov'd "their own valour and the timidity "of the Enemy. That though their "number were great, yet that there "was yet a sufficient number left of "brave and valiant men to defend "a just cause, and repel the force "of Ambition and perfidious impie- "ty. That they were to consider

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"their Enemies were a sort of igno-
"rant people, forc'd on by their *Ba-*
shaw's, for fear of encurring the dis-
"pleasure of their Master, to whom
"they had represented the enterprize
"so easy: that they themselves were
"persons of honour, dedicated from
"their Infancy to the service of God.
"And therefore he besought and con-
"jur'd them to do their duties.

The *Turks* by break of day dis-charg'd all their Artilleriy at once, that they might pass the Moat un-der the covert of the smoak; and that don, they boldly fell on in all places at once. The Grand Master posted himself in the *English* Bulwark, as be-ing the weakest place. Nor was the *Spanish* Artillery a little favourable to the *English*, flanking the *Turks*, and making a great slaughter among them insomuch that they were almost rea-dy to recoyle; when *Mustapha's* Lieutenant throwing himself among them, pray'd, entreated, threaten'd, promis'd and heading them himself, brought them on again; though to his cost, being the first man slain with a

Canon

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Canon Bullet as he was mounting the Ruins. The *Turks* enrag'd by his fall, diſcharg'd their ſmall ſhot and arrows like hail upon the *Rhodians*. And *Muſtapha* obſerving their Metall, ſent them continually freſh ſupplies, and with fair words and promiſes exhorted them to their Duties. Yet could they not force the beſieg'd to ſtir a foot, who in the view of the Grand Maſter with an invincible courage ſuſtain'd all that Impetuoſity, and at the ſame time fought with equal valour and obſtinacy in all the other Quarters. The very women were not unſerviceable; while ſome carry'd Bread, Wine and other refreſhments to the Souldiers, others threw ſtones; others pour'd down boyling Oyle and water upon the Enemy. But the greateſt danger of the Combat was in the *Spaniſh* Poſt, where the *Aga* General of the *Janiſſaries*, having pick'd out the choiceſt of his men, march'd himſelf to the Aſſault at the head of them, who follow'd him with ſuch a Reſoluton, that they

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cover'd all the Breach, gain'd the platform above, and planted forty of their Enſigns upon it, with the ſame violence ruſhing on to the *Barricado*'s, not minding the prodigious ſlaughter of their own that fell on every ſide. Thereupon the Knights and Souldiers in the *Spaniſh* Bulwark, ſeeing the diſtreſs of thoſe in the Poſt, ran to the aſſiſtance of their friends, leaving only ſome few for a guard behind. Which certain of the *Turks* that lay conceal'd behind the rubbiſh perceiving, preſently mounted the Bulwark, and made themſelves Maſters of it; pull'd down the Enſigns of the Chriſtians, and ſetting up their own, cry'd out in their own Language, *Victory*, and invited their Companions to aſſiſt them. Upon which *Achmats* Regiment advanc'd; but the *Auvergnian* & *Spaniſh* Artillery ſoon ſtopp'd their Career, So that the Grand Maſter being advertiz'd of this new accident, left the *Engliſh*, and entring the *Spaniſh* Poſt, charg'd the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that he put them abſolutely to

to flight. Then seeing the *Spanish* Bastion master'd by the *Turks*, he sent the Commander of *Bourbon* with a Company of stout Souldiers with order to enter the Mine and Casemat, and to mount the Bastion. Which he did so effectually, that in a short time he wholly regain'd it. Notwithstanding all this, the *Aga* with fresh forces return'd to the assault of the *Spanish* Post; and the Grand Master having left a sufficient Guard in the Bastion, return'd to the defence of the same, and sending for two hundred fresh men from St. *Nicholas* Tower, after a bloody fight of six hours, forc'd the *Turks* to abandon their Colours, and to retreat to their trenches, after the loss of above 15000 men. *Solyman* was so highly incens'd against *Mustapha* upon this defeat, that he condemn'd him to be shot to death with arrows. *Peri Basha*, upon the presumption of his Age, his merits, and his Authority, coming to intercede for *Mustapha*, was sentenc'd to the same death. And both had suffer'd

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had not *Achmat Bassha* and all the rest of the Principal Commanders, prostrate at *Solymans* feet, implor'd their pardon.

Solyman seeing all his attempts upon the City of *Rhodes* so vain and fruitless, fell into such a deep melancholy, that he shut himself up in his Pavilion for several dayes, and would not be seen, resolving to raise the siege and to be gone. The great Commanders whose hopes lay all in the Mines, finding their expectations frustrate, resolv'd to raise the Camp. Nay several had carry'd their baggage to the Sea side, and several Companies had quitted the Trenches. When an *Albanese* Souldier slipping out of the Town, gave intelligence to the *Turks*, that the greatest part of the Knights and Souldiers were either kill'd or wounded in the last General Assault. Other Traytours wrought the same, adviz'd them to stay, assuring them that the City could not hold out two Assaults more. And it was afterwards known that the Chevalier *D'Amaral* wrought

wrought to the same purpose, and encourag'd the continuance of the siege. Upon this Intelligence the Captains chang'd their Resolutions, divulg'd the news through the Army, and began to batter the City more furiously then before. *Solyman* also to let the Souldiers understand his Resolution, and to encourage them, began to build him a pleasure-house upon *Palermos* Hill. *Mustapha* also, though he had orders to repair to his Government, ventur'd to give three Assaults successively upon the *English* Bastion with the *Mamalucks*, who were so ill entertain'd, the greatest part of them being kill'd or wounded, that the rest retir'd to their Quarters, resolving to return no more. *Peri* secretly undermind the *Italian* Bastion, & the Mine indeed made a terrible noise and shaking, but took vent on the Camp side, and kill'd a great many of the *Turks*.

Mustapha having such ill success, thought it not convenient to stay any longer, so that upon his departure *Achmat* was made General. He continu'd

tinu'd the siege with the same violence, so that there was not a day pass'd wherein he did not both batter, Assault and undermine the defences of the City. However the Grand Master remitted nothing of his wonted care and diligence, fighting and hazarding his person every where, where need requir'd, beyond what was reasonable for a person of his degree and Importance.

And now when it was almost too late, those conspiracies and treasons were discover'd, which were the loss of the Island. For in the first place *Lucio Castrophilaca*, a *Rhodian*, and a person of great wealth, reputation and alliances, who had the charge of the fortifications, the bread and ammunition was perceiv'd, at a time and in a place very much to be suspected, to have shot an arrow into the *Turkish* Camp, who was thereupon lay hold on, examin'd, and put upon the wrack, but would confess nothing to the purpose. Next to him *Blas Diez* Servant to the Chancellour

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cellour *D'Amaral*, was taken in the ſame fact, and being put to the Torture, confeſs'd his Maſters Treaſon, declaring how he had wrote to the *Turks Baſha*'s to contiuue the Siege, for that both men and proviſions fail'd in the City. Thereupon the Grand Maſter caus'd the Chancellour to be apprehended, who being examin'd and tortur'd, would confeſs nothing himſelf; but being convicted by ſufficient teſtimonies, confirm'd to his face by his Servant, his Servant was hang'd, and he beheaded, dying without any ſign of repentance or Chriſtian devotion.

In the mean time the Canons of the Enemy thunder'd againſt the Baſtion of *Italy*, where they ruin'd all the defences and Barricado's that *Martinengo* had rais'd; by which means they advanc'd their Trenches to the very foot of the Breach. The Baſtion of *England* was alſo beaten down to the Ground, and the moſt part of the Barricado's and entrenchments ruin'd, ſo that ſome advis'd the quitting and blowing it up. But becauſe that ſignifi'd

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signifi'd little in regard of the vast numbers of the *Turks*, the Grand Master resolv'd to hold it out to the utmost, and to that end gave the command of it to the Chevalier *John de Bin*, who kept it to the last.

At this time arriv'd the Chevalier *de Rocque Martin* with twelve Knights, a hundred Souldiers and some Ammunition. But notwithstanding this small relief, the Grand Master observing the desperate condition of the City (for now in some places there were no other defences but beames and boards between the Enemy and him, beside that they had set up three Pravilions within the City neer the *Rhodian* entrenchments) sent away to *Candy* for Souldiers, Ammunition and victuals, which the Duke of *Candy* had provided, as also to *Naples* to hasten the succours, which the winter season hinder'd from coming.

In the mean while the *Turks* gave too desperate Assaults upon the *Italian* and *Spanish* Platforms, but were still repuls'd with the loss of above

love 3000 men. Inſomuch that *Achmat* finding it impoſſible to take the City by force, reſolv'd to give no more Aſſaults, but rather choſe to preſerve his men, who were grown quite weary of the Chriſtian valour; nevertheleſs he continu'd his batteries, and advanc'd his Trenches, thinking to creep by degrees into the City. *Solyman* alſo thinking to make ſhort work caus'd ſeveral Letters to be ſhot into the City, inviting the Inhabitants to ſurrender, offering them all the Immunities they could deſire; and threatning on the other ſide in caſe of obſtinacy, all the ſeverity imaginable. *Peri* alſo ſuborn'd a *Genoeſe*, who having liberty to ſpeak to the Knights, adviz'd them as Chriſtians to conſider the deplorable condition of the City, and told them withal, that if they were ſo diſpos'd, he could put them in a way to make an honourable compoſition; but they believing him to be ſome impoſtor, ſent under hand by *Solyman* or his *Baſha*'s, gave little credit to his words. Two dayes after he

he came to the same place, pretending he had a Letter from the Grand Signiour, but then they bid him retire, and to force him the sooner so to do, they shot at him.

Some while after came the *Albanian* Souldier before mention'd, pretending Letters also from *Solyman* to the Grand Master. But then the Grand Master forbid any farther Parlying.

However these offers were divulg'd abroad in the City, which begat in many a desire to heark'n to propositions of peace as more regarding their wives and Children then their honour. And it was carry'd so far, that some of the Citizens went and declar'd their desires to the *Metropolitan*, and some of the Grand Cross, requesting them to declare their grievances to the Grand Master. But he severely check'd them, telling them that it was not a request to be mention'd; that they should rather resolve to die for the common liberty, and the Honour of the Order. The next day they came and besought him again to provide for

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for the Common ſafety, for that they were aſſur'd that the Citizens would yeild to a treaty, rather then be cut in pieces themſelves, their wives and children. Then the Grand Maſter finding himſelf preſs'd and importun'd of all hands, ſubmitted to neceſſity, and call'd a general Council. So ſoon as the Council was ſat, a Petition was preſented to the Grand Maſter, humbly requeſting him to think of a Capitulation; or at leaſt to give them leave to ſecure their wives and children; and at the foot of the petition was an intimation that if the Grand Maſter would not, they would provide for them themſelves. In this diſtreſs the Grand Maſter; deſirous to know the condition of the City more particularly, before he would reſolve any farther, requir'd the advice of the *Prior of* St. *Giles*, and *Martinengo*, who both declar'd in full Council that in either conſciences, and upon their Honour and allegeance, they could not think the City any longer tenable, the Enemy being lodg'd forty

forty yards one way, and 30 yards another way within the City, so that it was impossible for them to retire any farther, nor for the Enemy to be beaten out.

Upon the advice and Relation of two such judicious and great men, the whole Council considering how much it concern'd them to preserve the holy Reliques and the souls and honour of so many Christian Women and Children, and the evident danger of the whole Orders being dispierc'd and abolish'd, if all that were there should be lost, resolv'd with one accord to Capitulate. The Grand Master still lay'd before them, the duty that lay upon them to preserve the honour of the Order, which had never yet bin defil'd with any stain of cowardice or pusillanimity, having alwaies preferr'd their honour and Death before the safety of their Lives. But the Council overrul'd him with so many circumstantial and solid reasons, that he was constrain'd to yield to the present and inevitable necessity,

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neceſſity, and their grave advice. This deſign Heav'n was ſo far pleas'd to favour, that *Solyman* began firſt. For he firſt ſet up an Enſign upon the Church of St. *Mary de Lermonitra*; and then the Grand Maſter ſet up another upon the Mill belonging to the *Coſquin* Gate. Immediately two *Turks* came out of the Trenches, deſiring to parley: upon which the Grand Maſter ſent forth the Prior of St. *Giles* and *Martinengo*; to whom the *Turks* deliver'd a Letter from *Solyman*.

This Letter was read in Council; wherein *Solyman* demanded a ſurrender of the Town, & offer'd the Knights liberty to be gone, with ſecurity for their perſons and their Baggage: which if they would not accept, he was reſolv'd to put all to the ſword. Thereupon in conſideration onely of the people and Inhabitants of the Town, the ſame Reſolution was again taken, and the Chevalier *Anthony de Grolee*, and *Robert Perucci*, Judge of the *Caſtillians*, were commiſſionated to attend *Solyman*. So ſoon

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as they were gone forth, a near Kinſman of *Achmats*, and a *Trucheman* much favour'd by the Grand *Turk*, were admitted unto *Rhodes* as Hoſtages, and a truce was concluded for three dayes.

The next day *Achmat* preſented the Embaſſadours to *Solyman*, who declar'd to him what they had in commiſſion, *Solyman* to maintain his Reputation, firmely deny'd that he had ever wrote or ſent to the Grand Maſter; nevertheleſs ſince the Grand Maſter had ſent to him upon the ſame Occaſion, he commanded them to let him know his mind, which was the ſame that he had written, and demanded his Reſolution within three dayes, and that in the mean time there ſhould be no working toward the repair of their fortifications, being firmly reſolv'd, though all *Turky* periſh'd, not to ſtir out of the Iſland, till he had *Rhodes* in his poſſeſſion. And having ſo ſaid, he diſmis'd them. *Perucci* return'd to the City. But *Achmat* kept the Chevalier *Grollee* with

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with him, led him into his Pavilion, and caus'd him to drink with him; and diſcourſing of ſeveral paſſages in the ſiege, *Achmat* told him with a great oath; that above forty thouſand *Turks* had bin ſlain, and as many were ſick and wounded. *Peruoci* having made his report to the Council, it was reſolv'd upon good conſiderations that they ſhould not accept thoſe conditions the firſt time, but ſend other Commiſſioners.

In the mean time certain of the Citizens took upon them, and were mightily offended that the Capitulation was begun, without their privity. Declaring alſo that they would never conſent to any ſuch conditions, but rather die with their Swords in their hands for their liberty, then ſurrender themſelves to the power of the *Turk*. For that whatever the *Turk* promis'd, he would be ſure to exerciſe nothing, but rapine and ſlaughter as he had done at *Belgrade*. The Grand Maſter obſerving this *Grecian* fickleneſs, told them in friendly man-

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ner that the Resolutions he had taken, were resolv'd upon upon mature deliberation; which consultations were to be kept secret that they might not come to the Enemies knowledge, and that it was more for their safety then for the good of the Order, that they made any conditions at all. To which purpose he was sending away other Commissioners the better to assure himself of *Solymans* word and fidelity. With which answer the Citizens shew'd themselves very well satisfy'd.

Upon this two other Commissioners were dispatch'd away, *Raymond Marquet*, and *Lopezde Pas*, both *Spanish* Knights, who represented to *Solyman* that the Grand Master had to confer with several people of several Nations that the time Limited was too short, and therefore desir'd that he would be pleas'd to grant them a longer time. *Solyman* not relishing this discourse without saying any more, commanded *Achmat* to continue his batteries, which were begun

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begun again upon the 15*th.* of *December* and so the Truce was broken. *Solyman* however detain'd one of the Commissioners, which shew'd that he had yet some inclinations to to Capitulate. The Grand Master observing the Hostility begun again, and that the *Turks* advanc'd with their Trenches farther and farther into the Town, sent for them that hinder'd the treaty, and protested to live and die with them, and commanded all the Inhabitants to repair home to their Quarters there to keep guard, and that no person should quit his Quarters upon pain of Death. This Order was observ'd for two days, but the 3*d.* a young man left his Quarters and went and lay at home, for which the Grand Master commanded him to be hang'd. Some few days after that, all the rest of the Inhabitants lost both their courage and their patience, and forsook the walls and breaches, so that the *Turks* might easily have enter'd, had not the Grand Master withstood them

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with that small handful of men which he had left him; which some few dayes after was a little augmented by the coming of the Chevalier *D'Andugar*, and the Chevalier *Farfan* an *English* man, with a hundred Souldiers and some Wine.

This Wine was a great consolation to the City, besides that the Ship made such Bravado's as it enter'd the Port, that the *Turks* generally believ'd it had brought a Relief of above a Thousand men. However the *Turks* continu'd their Assaults, and particularly they made a violent onset upon the *Spanish Barbacan*, from which, though they were at first repuls'd, yet returning with such vast numbers the *Rhodians* were overwhilm'd and oppress'd by multitude, and forc'd to retire into the City. The *Turks* having gain'd the *Barbacan*, presently came to the foot of the *English* wall, and by the Ruins of the *Barbacan* got to the top of it, and there planted several of their Colours. The Citizens beholding the Extream danger

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danger they were in, confeſs'd their folly, and beſought the Grand Maſter, as the common Father, to provide for their ſafety, who gave them liberty to conſtitute Deputies of their own to attend *Solyman*, and to procure particular ſecurity from him for themſelves, and order'd them to go along with the Chevalier *Grollee*.

The Grand Maſter however having ſome hopes of relief, to the end he might temporize for a while, ſent *Perucci* firſt to ſhew to *Solyman* a Letter of *Bajazet* his Grandfather, wherein he bequeath'd his malediction to thoſe of his ſucceſſours that ſhould make war againſt R*hodes*. *Perucci* addreſs'd himſelf to *Achmat*, who deſirous to ſee the Letter, took it, and having torn it to pieces, threw it under his feet in great diſdain. Having ſo done, he ſent *Perucci* back to the Grand Maſter, to tell him, that if he did not ſuddenly return *Solyman* an anſwer, he muſt expect to be miſerable.

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However the Grand Master had one more delay, which was to offer to *Solyman* by the proposal of the Chevalier *de Grollee*, otherwise call'd *Passim*, the expences and charges of the whole siege, if he would rise from before it. But *Achmat* would not suffer any such word to be deliver'd to *Solyman*, saying that *Solyman* had more regard to his honour and his Reputation then to all the Riches in the World. At length the Grand Master finding no way to avoyd an agreement, and that delay would be the Loss of all, vanquish'd his own courage, and overwhelm'd with grief and vexation, gave his word to surrender the Town upon the conditions propos'd. To which purpose he sent away the Chevalier *Passim* & the Deputies of the Town, who were presented to his Majesty; to whom the Knights declar'd that the Grand Master was now resolv'd to surrender the City upon the conditions propos'd to him, upon a full assurance in the faith and promises of his Majesty, and humbly

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bly entreated him to favour the Inhabitants in the petition which they had to preſent to him for their peace and ſafety. The Inhabitants beſought him to remove his Army a little farther off, that they might not receive any Injury either in their perſons or goods, and that thoſe that would be gone might depart in ſafety. *Solyman* accepted the offer of the Grand Maſter, and promis'd to obſerve inviolably every article of the Capitulation. "That the Churches ſhould "not be profan'd; that none of the "Children ſhould be carry'd away "as *Tribute Children* to make Janiſ-"ſaries. That the Chriſtians ſhould "have the free exerciſe of their Re-"ligion. That the Inhabitants ſhould "be exempt from all duties for five "years. That they that would might "depart in three years with their E-"ſtates unmoleſted. That *Solyman* "ſhould furniſh the Order with Ships "ſufficient to carry them and their "Subjects to *Candy*. That they "ſhould carry off as many of their "great

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" great Guns as they could Load.
" That the Castles of St. *Peter*, *Lango*,
" and the other Islands and Fortres-
" ses belonging to the Order shall be
" surrender'd to *Solyman*. After that
" *Achmat* sent into the City 400 Jani-
" saries with an *Aga* to take possessi-
" on, and the Grand Master sent into
" the Camp for Hostages 25 Knights,
" and as many Citizens, who were
" by *Achmat* curteously entertain'd.

In the mean time *Achmat* came to visit the Grand Master in the Moat of the *Spanish* Post, where after some discourse between them, he gave the Grand Master Notice that *Solyman* was desirous to see him, and therefore adviz'd him, as his best course, to go and wait upon him. The Grand Master unwilling to provoke *Solyman*, and to give him any occasion to break his word, by being severe either to the Knights or the *Rhodians*, resolv'd to follow *Achmats* advice. The next morning therefore he went, in a plain habit, accompani'd with several

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several of the Knights; and after he had attended for some time before *Solymans* Tent, he was presented with a noble Vest, that *Solyman* gave him; which so soon as he had put on, he was introduc'd into the Grand Signiours Pavilion, and kiss'd his hand. *Solyman* receiv'd him curteously, chear'd him up, and told him by his interpreter, that it was a common thing to loose or gain Cities and Signiories through the Instability of Fortune; exhorted him to take his loss patiently, and assur'd him of a most punctual performance of all his promises. Then turning to his own people. I cannot but pity, said he, this brave *Man, whom in his Old Age; Necessity thus compels to abandon the Seat of his own Dominion.* The Grand Master return'd him thanks, besought him to remember what he had promis'd, and so taking his leave, retir'd. *Solyman* caus'd him

to

to be guarded into the City, and gave habits of honour to all the Knights that attended him.

Three days after *Solyman* himself rode to view the Trenches, the Batteries, the Breaches, and the Tower of St. *Nicholas*. Upon his return he enter'd the Palace attended only by *Achmat*, and *Ibrahim*, then a Page, but highly belov'd by him, and ask'd for the Grand Master. When he saw him, he made a kind of offer to raise his Turbant from his head with his hand, out of respect not permitting the Grand Master to make any obeysance to him below his dignity. Bidding him fear nothing, and telling him withall, if he had not time enough, he would allow him more. The Grand Master return'd him thanks, but desir'd nothing more of him then to be
1563 mindful of his promise. Thereupon *Solyman* remounted, and having view'd the Church of St. *John*, return'd to his Pavilion.

Upon

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Upon *New-years* day the Grand Maſter having taken his leave of *Solyman*, and embark'd as many of the choiceſt great Guns as the time would permit, attended by all the Knights, and as many of the beſt of the Citizens, who rather choſe to follow his fortunes, then ſubmit to the Tyranny of the *Turks*, went aboard the Galleys appointed to carry the diſconſolate Traine, and the beſt of their goods, and ſteer'd away for *Candy*.

Thus did The Order of St. *John* looſe *Rhodes*, after they had held and maintain'd it with ſo much conſtancy, ſo much Expence of treaſure, and loſs of blood, againſt the whole power of the Barbarous *Mahometans*, for the ſpace of two hun- and thirty years.

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